THE LITURGICAL BACKGROUND

TO

THE DREAM OF THE ROOD

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by

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ABBREVIATIONS

Archiv	Archiv fur das Studium der neueren Sprachen.
Dietrich	Disputatio de Cruce Ruthwellensi.
E.E.T.S.	Early English Text Society(Original Series).
Grein[a]	C.W.Grein,Bibliothek der angelsachsischen Poesie (1st.edition).
Grein[b]	C.W.Grein,Germania,X,pp.416-429.
H.B.S.	Henry Bradshaw Society Publications.
Kemble[a]	J.M.Kemble,Archaeologia,XXVIII,pp.360ff.
Kemble[b]	J.M.Kemble,The Poetry of the Codex Vercellensis.
J.E.G.P.	Journal of English and Germanic Philology.
M.A.	Medium Aevum.
M.L.R.	Modern Language Review.
P.G.	J.P.Migne,Patrologiae Cursus Completus:Patres Graeci.
P.L.	J.P.Migne,Patrologiae Cursus Completus:Patres Latini.
P.M.L.A.	Publications of the Modern Language Association.
Surtees	Surtees Society Publications.
Sweet	H.Sweet,Anglo-Saxon Reader,Oxford,1876.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

A. The Cross and the Liturgy

The cross was used in Roman times as an intrument of capital punishment.As such it was an object of reprobation and a symbol of infamy. Plautus tells us that in a Roman crucifixion the victim was nailed to the wood with four nails.[1] Sometimes he was only bound with cords. It is probable that at first trees were used for the purpose,the trunk and two lateral branches serving to secure the arms and feet of the condemned man.[2] Thus Cicero speaks of "arbor infelix"[3]and Seneca of "infelix lignum."[4] Seneca also mentions the "crux acuta," a long beam fixed on the ground and sharpened on top.[5] To this the criminal was bound with nails or ropes.The transverse beam seems to have been added later.

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[1] Plautus,Lactantius IV,13. See also Tertullian, "Adversus Iudaeos,"J.P.Migne,P.L.,II,cols.625ff.

[2] "Cross," Lat.crux, comes from "cruciare," to torture,and has nothing to do with the idea of two beams at right angles.

[3] Cicero, Pro C.Rabirio,III.

[4] Seneca Epistulae,XVII,1,10;and CI,ad finem.

[5] Ibid.

Crosses were generally low and,except in executions intended as public warnings and meant to be seen from a distance,probably no higher than the person to be affixed to them.It is possible that Christ was crucified with His feet resting on the ground.This view,though resting on no historical document,is suggested by the practical impossibility of providing nails long and strong enough to perforate the feet of an adult and support his body without tearing through the flesh.[1]

The cross continued to be used for crucifixions until the conversion of Constantine in the first quarter of the fourth century,[2] and the stigma that attached to it prevented it from becoming a widely used liturgical symbol. St.Paul often uses the word "cross" in his writings but usually as a token of ignominy: "Christ became for us obedient unto death : even the death of the cross."[3] However,although this attitude was fairly general,from the beginning of the third century there are occasional references to the cross being used as a religious symbol.

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[1] The crucifixion as a capital punishment was unknown among the Anglo-Saxons who executed criminals by hanging.Consequently the words hon and ahon were used even in reference to Christ's death. Thus "Godes agen bearn. . . hengon on heanne beam / in fyrndagum fæderas usse"(Elene, 422-425). Hence the word rood,which originally meant a beam or pole,came to be used for the cross.

[2] By the fifth century hanging as a form of capital punishment had become general in the West.See P.F.dei Cavalieri,"Della Forca Sostituita alla Croce," Nuovo Bollettino d'Archeologia,Nos.1-3(1907),pp.63ff.

[3] Phil. 2:10-11.

Writing to the North African non-Christians Tertullian says that unlike the heathens who worship wooden idols in human shape Christians prefer a simple,bare cross.[1] In another work,referring to the early Christians' custom of signing themselves on the forehead with the sign of the cross,he writes "frontem crucis signaculo terimus," (we wear our foreheads out with the sign of the cross).[2] Gradually,as the memory of the original use of the cross faded, its adoption as a symbol became general. Already in the third century Clement of Alexandria calls the cross "toū Kuoiakoū onueiou tú óv," (a symbol of Christ).[3] John Chrysostom tells us in the fourth century of people who wore around the neck a relic of the true cross enclosed in a gold capsule.[4] Even churches began to be erected in honor of the Cross,one of them,the Basilica of the Holy Cross at Ravenna,being built by Galla Placidia in 450.[5]

It is to be observed,however,that for a long time

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[1] Tertullian, "Ad Nationes," P.L.,I,cols.577f. He also calls Christians "crucis religiosi," ibid.,col.365.

[2] Tertullian,"De Corona Militis," P.L.,II,col.80. Later the sign was extended to the whole body for a better symbolism,See John Chrysostom's "Homilia ad Populum Antiochenum," P.G.,XXII,col.111;and Jerome's "Epistola ad Eustachium," P.L.,XXII,col.904.This use of the cross symbol led the pagans to refer to Christians as "crucicoli," namely cross-worshipers.

[3] P.G.,IX,col.305.

[4] John Chrysostom,Opera Omnia,ed.Montfaucon(13 vols., Paris,1839),I,p.571.

[5] L.Muratori,Scriptores Rerum Italicarum,Milan 1751, I,II,p.544a.

the figure of Christ did not appear on the cross.One reason for this is to be found in the natural reluctance to have the figure of Christ exposed to the public gaze in its crucified state.The absence of Christ's picture,besides, supported the emphasis laid by the Church of the first centuries on the divinity of her founder which was constantly being attacked by pagans as well as heretics. This emphasis resulted in a corresponding lack of stress on the humanity of Christ. Thus,for instance,the resurrection of Christ was given much greater prominence than His sufferings and death,and Easter was in the Christian calendar at a much earlier period than Christmas.

The first depictions of Christ on the cross appear at the beginning of the fifth century(see Plate 2)but are very rare.Here too heresies were largely responsible for the change in the Church's policy.Monothelites and other eastern heretics denied the humanity of Christ to affirm only His divinity.To arrest the spreading of this error the Third Council of Constantinople(681) condemned Monothelism and decreed that the figure of Christ should be shown on images.[1] Until then,especially in the Byzantine

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[1] J.D.Mansi,Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio,(31 vols.,Florence,1759-1798),XI;pp,978ff. The custom,however,had already been known,at least in the West. Bede tells us that in 678 Bishop Benedict of Wearmouth brought from Rome "a painting in which "are paired together the Son of God hanging on a cross and the brazen serpent" Lives of the First Five Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow, transl. and ed. by Rev.P.Wilcock(Sunderland,1910),pp.67ff.

world,although the cross itself was widely used in mosaics and paintings,the figure of the Crucifix was hardly known. To this same reaction against heresy we owe the first realistic representation of the death of Christ.This is the Rabula Crucifix,a painting found in a manuscript of a Syrian gospel written about 586(Plate 2).

Of special interest to readers of The Dream of the Rood is the Lucca Crucifix(Plate 7). This is a wooden cross with the figure of Christ vested in a long robe.What interests us particularly is that reproductions of this eleventh-century work of art are found in Germany and England,In England one copy is preserved at Langforn(Oxon.). A second may have existed at Bury St.Edmund for in Liber Albus(Harl.1005) we are told that "the altar of St.Peter was dedicated when Baldwin was prior. . .The holy cross which was set up there is very holy. . . some saying that abbot Leofstan had it copied after the cross of Lucca when he went to Rome."[1] As time went on representations of the Crucifix became more and more realistic and towards the end of the eighth century we meet with the earliest depiction of blood gushing out of the Savior's side(Plate 3).

While North European crucifixes reflected the general trend of the art of the rest of the Continent,two

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[1] As quoted in M.R.James,Abbey of St.Edmund at Bury (Cambridge,1893),p.139. Abbot Leofstan remained in office from 1044 to 1065.

characteristic traits can be observed about them.One is that the figure of Christ often is fully dressed.This is very evident in Celtic and Scandinavian paintings of the time (Plates 3 and 4). The other characteristic is a royal crown with which the Crucifix is often represented.[1]

The Medieval Church,as does the Catholic Church to-day,commemorated two feasts of the Cross:the Invention of the Cross,on May 3, and the Exaltation of the Cross,on September 14. Both feasts originated in Jerusalem. The Invention was intended to commemorate the discovery of Christ's Cross by Helen,the mother of Emperor Constantine, in 329.[2] To mark the event two churches were built in Jerusalem,one on Calvary and the other on the site of Christ's sepulchre. These churches were inaugurated on September 13 and 14,335,and an annual commemoration on these dates was prescribed.[3] The Feast of the Exaltation,on the

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[1] William of Malmesbury,Antiquitates Ecclesiae Glastoniensis ("De Alia Cruce de qua Cecidit Corona") P.L., CLCCIX,col.1698. One such Crucifix is seen in The New Minster Psalter(1099 A.D.).On this subject see T.A.Kendrick, Anglo-Saxon Art,London,1938; and W.G.Collingwood,North-umbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age,London,1927.

[2] Eusebius while mentioning in his History(333 A.D.) Helen's presence in Jerusalem says nothing of the finding of the Cross,but St.Cyril of Jerusalem mentions it in 348 (P.G.,XXXIII,cols.52,167,486,776) and so do St.Ambrose of Milan (P.L.,XVI,col.4) and Rufinus(P.L.,XXI,col.476).

[3] See L.Duchesne,Origines du Culte Chrétien (Paris: De Boccard,1920),pp.541-542,for a description of the dedi-cation ceremonies made by the pilgrim Etherie.

other hand,was instituted in memory of the recovery of Christ's Cross which had been carried to Persia by King Chosroas.The return of the Cross was one of the conditions laid down by the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius after Chosroas was defeated in battle in 629.The restoration of the Cross to its place in Jerusalem was made on May 3 of the same year. This day was,consequently,set apart for an annual commemoration of the event.

Originating from the East,both feasts were adopted in Rome.The Exaltation was commemorated towards the beginning of the eighth century but,as Dom Bauer has pointed out,[1] references to this feast dating back to Pope Sergius's times(687-701) show that the feast had already been observed in Rome for some time.[2]

The Gallican and Celtic liturgies celebrated the Invention on May 3 [3] whereas in Rome this was done on September 14, May 3 being reserved for the feast of the

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[1] D.Baumer,"Kreuz," and "Kreuzen-findung," Kirchenlexicon(Freiburg,188201901),VII,pp.1074ff.

[2] It is very probable that for this too,as for much else in Catholic liturgy,Basilian and other Byzantine monks were responsible,who flocked to the West at about this time to avoid the Iconoclast persecution. Historians estimate that some fifty thousand such monks came to Italy alone.See I.Andreev,Germanius and Tarasius,Patriarchs of Constantinople(Sergiev Posad,1907) as quoted by A.A.Vasiliev,History of the Byzantine Empire,(Madison,1952),p.262.

[3] See L.Duchesne,op.cit.,pp.290-292.

Exaltation. Later on, when in the course of the Carolingian liturgical reform of the eighth century the Gallican and Roman liturgies were amalgamated, the two feasts remained in the calendar, that of May 3 commemorating --illogically-- the finding of the Cross by Helen, and that of September 14 its recovery from Chosroas.

A very rich literature exists both in Old and Middle English on the historical and legendary facts connected with the Cross. Much of the legendary part has its origin in the Gospel of Nicodemus, an apocryphal book written in the fourth century and known in the West in a Latin translation of the fifth. Of this gospel there exists an Anglo-Saxon version to which The Dream of the Rood seems to be indebted in places.[1] Of these legends the most significant for our purpose are The Harrowing of Hell and The Story of the Holy Rood.[2] These stories continued to grow throughout the early Middle Ages and some of them reached almost epic proportions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In their simpler form they must have been known in Anglo-Saxon times, too.[3]

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[1] The Anglo-Saxon version appears in P.M.L.A., XIII(1898), pp.458ff.

[2] Both, with many others, collected and published by R.Morris, Legends of the Holy Rood (London: E.E.T.S, 1871),

[3] See O.W.Stevens, "The Cross in the Lives and Literature of the Anglo-Saxons," Yale Studies in English, No.23, pp.9ff.

Much of this legendary lore,chiefly the section connected with Helen's efforts to recover the Cross,found its way into liturgical books. It is clearly to be seen in such official manuals as the ancient breviaries in use at St.Mary's Abbey of York[1] and Hyde Abbey of Winchester.[2] Shorn of its cruder elements,some of this traditional and partly legendary material still lingers in modern liturgical books.[3]

In England the cult of the Cross began very early. The very first appearance of Christianity in the country was heralded by the Cross.We have it from Bede that when Augustine and his followers landed in England "they approached the King carrying a silver cross as their standard."[4] Aelfric mentions that before King Oswald(604-

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[1] S.Lawley(ed.),Breviarium ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis(Durham:Surtees,vols.71 and 75,1880 and 1883).

[2] J.B.L.Tolhurst(ed.),The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey (London:Henry Bradshaw Society Publications,1937). See infra,p.98.

[3] See,for instance, the modern monastic breviary (lessons of the second nocturn of the feast of the Invention,May 3). A close study of such ancient breviaries,or parts of breviaries,as Wulstan's Portiforium,edited by D.A. Hughes (London,H.B.S.,vols.89 and 90,of 1959 and 1960),and the Leofric Collectar,edited by E.S.Dewick(London:H.B.S., vol.45,1914),both of the eleventh century,shows that present-day breviaries reproduce faithfully medieval ones except for the expurgation of some legendary material.Liturgically they are identical.To prove the indebtedness of The Dream of the Rood to contemporary liturgy it would be sufficient to demonstrate its similarities with such modern manuals as the monastic breviary and missal.See D.A.Hughes' remarks on this point,op.cit.,(vol.89),p.x.

[4] Bede,A History of the English Church and People, tr.H.Waddell,(Edinburgh:Penguin Classics,1960),p.69.

642) engaged Ceadwalla in battle,he "arærde ane rode sona Gode to wurþmynte."[1] Bede further states that the Cross was used at a very early period as a religious symbol on monuments and cemeteries.[2] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us,under the year 882, "Pope Marinus sent the Lignum Domini to King Alfred," where reference is made to a relic of the Cross of Christ.[3] Churches too were often named after the Cross,like the Holy Cross Abbey at Waltham,erected by King Harold(1035-1040).Such monuments as the Ruthwell Cross, of the eighth century;such art objects as the Brussels Cross,probably of the tenth,and such poems as The Dream of the Rood, the Elene and the closing section of the Christus support the assertion that in sculpture and poetry the Cross "reached among the Anglo-Saxons its most devoted and artistic expression."[4]

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[1] Aelfric,Lives of the Saints,no.xxv. Reprinted in C.T.Onions(ed.),Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader(Oxford:Clarendon Press,1950),p.75. To this we may add Bede's statement that when Oswald returned victorious from this battle he ordered a cross to be erected in all the churches of his realm (P.L.,XCV,col.117).

[2] Bede,History,p.307,tells us of an epitaph placed on the tomb of Bishop Wilfrith of Ripon in 709,saying inter alia "a noble cross of richly shining ore he placed aloft." For crosses used in cemeteries see Bede,Two Lives of St. Cuthbert,ed.B.Colgrave,(Cambridge,1940),p.273.

[3] B.Thorpe(ed.),The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (2 vols., London,1861),II,p.68. About the possibility of this lignum being the famous Brussels Cross,see B.Dickins and A.S.C.Ross (eds.),The Dream of the Rood(London:Methuen,1954),pp.14-15.

[4] O.W.Stevens,op.cit.,p.78. See also M.M.Dubois, "Le Culte de la Sainte Croix en Grande Bretagne," Etudes Merovingiennes,ed.A.et J. Picard(Paris,1953),pp.75-83.

The most dramatic manifestation of the cult of the Cross is the so-called Adoration of the Cross,a permanent feature of the Good Friday liturgy. The practice originated in Jerusalem in the fourth century whence it was imported to Rome where we observe it in the seventh.[1] In Anglo-Saxon England it was called "creeping to the Cross" from the custom of the people to crawl to it on their hands and knees. It must have been introduced very early,perhaps by one of those eastern monks who,like Theodore of Canterbury, were often appointed to English sees. The custom appears well established as early as English liturgical documents go.It is prescribed in the Pontifical of Egbert (732-766);[2] in the Regularis Concordia (965);[3] in the Leofric Collectar[4] and Wulstan's Portiforium,[5] both of the eleventh century, and in the Gilbertine Rite of the twelfth,among other documents.

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[1] L.Duchesne,op.cit.,p.261.

[2] Ed.by W.Greenwell for the Surtees Society Publications,Durham,1853,pp.134ff.

[3] St.Ethelwold,Regularis Concordia,ed.by D.T.Symons, (New York:Oxford University Press,1953),pp.42-44.

[4] E.S.Dewick(ed.),op.cit.,p.131.

[5] D.A.Hughes(ed.),op.cit.,II,pp.48-49.

[6] D.Woolley(ed.),The Gilbertine Rite(London:H.B.S., 1921),p.38.

The Adoration of the Cross as prescribed in the Regularis Concordia for the Benedictine Monasteries in England[1] is the most complex and best developed of its kind within liturgical knowledge.[2]

B. The Dream of the Rood: Manuscript, Date and Authorship.

The Dream of the Rood is found in a single tenth-century manuscript known as the Vercelli Book. The name derives from the fact that it was discovered, during the early nineteenth century, in the library of the Vercelli Cathedral in northern Italy.[3]

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[1] Benedictine monks are reputed to have been the earliest popularisers of the cult of the Cross. Rev. Lejay has reconstructed an early-medieval liturgical calendar basing it on a Cassinese MS. for the year 778-779 (MS. 7530 of the Bibliotheque Nationale, of Paris) and on another document of the eleventh century, also from Montecassino (MS. 364, Bibliotheque Mazarin, of Paris). He has thereby established that in May and September of that year the feasts of the Invention and Exaltation were already celebrated at Montecassino, both feasts having also a special monastic office in the Mazarin breviary. (See on this topic P. Battifol, "Note sur un breviaire cassinesien du XIe siecle" Melanges Julien Havet, Paris, 1895, pp. 201-209). Ancient Benedictine liturgical manuals contain also what must have been the very earliest votive masses in honor of the Cross. Thus in the Regularis Concordia mention is made of these masses which were "probably traditional in the Anglo-Saxon Church" (D. T. Symons, op. cit., p. 23).

[2] It has been noted that the three long prayers accompanying it are nowhere else liturgically used in that context and that the last of the three is liturgically unknown outside of the Concordia (See D. T. Symons, "Sources of the 'Regularis Concordia'," The Downside Review, LIX (1941), p. 156.

[3] It is known as MS. No. CXVII of the Eusebian Archives, Vercelli.

The Vercelli Book is one of the more voluminous MSS. of Anglo-Saxon literature containing as it does, besides The Dream, such poems as Elene (1321 lines), The Fates of the Apostles (122 lines), Andreas (1722 lines) and Soul and Body (some 170 lines). The Dream of the Rood is found on fols. 104v-106r of the MS. The language is, like the MS., tenth-century West Saxon. Anglian forms that occasionally appear have suggested to some scholars[1] a northern origin for the poem and a subsequent translation into West Saxon. These forms, however, are so few and of such nature that they can be considered, perhaps, part of the conventional poetic diction of the period.[2] Hence there is reason to assume that the poem was composed in the tenth century or, at the earliest, towards the end of the ninth.[3]

It is significant that snatches from The Dream of the Rood are to be found in two earlier works of art: the Ruthwell Cross and the Brussels Reliquary. The latter, known as the Brussels Cross, is a silver work encasing a large relic of the wood of the Cross. It is preserved in

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[1] Thus, for instance, Dickins and Ross, op.cit., p.18.

[2] So, e.g. the form bestemed of line 48, instead of the regular WS. bestymed, is found also on the Ruthwell Cross, in Andreas (487) and Christus (1085) among other places. Dickins and Ross consider it "a word peculiar to the poetic vocabulary" (op.cit., p.27). For other Anglian forms cf. infra, p.16.

[3] Dickins and Ross's suggestion that the poem was written in 885 to celebrate the gift of the relic of the Cross made by the Pope to King Alfred (ib.p.19), rests on mere conjecture.

the sacristy of the cathedral of Brussels.On the silver work is inscribed the following:

- Rod is min nama Geo ic ricne cyning
bær byfigynde blode bestemed þas
rode het Aeþlmær wyrican 7 Aðelwold hys
beroþor criste to lofe for Aelfrices
savle hyra beroþor

It has been said that the expression "blode bestemed"bears a close resemblance to line 22 of The Dream "mid wætan bestemed," and is identical with the "blode bestemed" of line 48.The connection,however,is not very clear for the phrase "blode bestemed" was in fact a conventional one.[1] As for the personification of the Cross in both the poem and the Brussels Cross,this too is a common trait in Anglo-Saxon literature and should not be construed as a proof of dependence of one on the other.[2]

The connection of The Dream with the Ruthwell Cross is quite of a different nature. This cross is a stone monument,18-ft. high,in Ruthwell,near Dumfries,in Scotland.It has suffered from the ravages of time and man.Only its upright beam is left of the original cross,the present transom being a recent substitute for the original.The upright beam is two-feet in breadth and 15 inches thick at the base.As it rises it tapers off gently.Its sides are engraved with Roman and runic characters.The runes run along

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[1] Cf.Christus(1085):"beacna beorhtost blode bestemed" and Beowulf(486):"Eal benc þelu blode bestymed."

[2] For further information on the Brussels Cross,see B.Dickins and A.S.C.Ross,op.cit.,pp.13-16.

the borders of the two lateral faces,those at the bottom being worn out,probably by people's hands,and largely undecipherable(Plate 1). When translated the runes yield a number of expressions in the Northumbrian dialect that are similar to passages in The Dream of the Rood.

Scholars are not agreed on the date of the Ruthwell Cross,their guesses ranging from 665,on architectural grounds,[1] to 1150,on linguistic ones.[2] Most recent authorities,however,favor the period 670-750.[3]

The similarities between the runic script and parts of The Dream are so pronounced that they have suggested to some scholars a causal connection.It is generally assumed that snatches from an early Northumbrian poem were engraved on the cross and that much later the poem itself was enlarged into what is now The Dream of the Rood.The second half of the poem,from line 78 on,is especially said to be part of this enlargement.In corroboration it is pointed out that the similarities in question are confined to the first half of the poem.[4] Other critics,however,reverse the process and hold that The Dream antecedes the Ruthwell Cross.[5]

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[1] Thus D.H.Haigh,"The Saxon Cross at Bewcastle," Archaeologia Aeliana,IV(1855),pp,173ff.,and George Stephens whose opinions are refuted by A.S.Cook,The Dream,p.xv.

[2] E.g.A.S.Cook,"Notes on the Ruthwell Cross," P.M.L.A. XVII(1902),367-391.

[3] See Dickins and Ross,op.cit.,p.7.

[4] Thus Dickins and Ross,ibid.,p.18.

[5] So E.V.K.Dobbie,Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems(New York: Columbia University Press,1958),p.cxxii.

It is difficult to arrive at a decisive proof in support of either view.Data are lacking and we can only move in the realm of conjecture.It may be that a different solution is possible,namely that the runic phrases on the Ruthwell Cross represent all,or nearly all(allowance being made for the obliterated runes) that ever existed of the "poem" before The Dream was composed.And that is precious little:about a dozen really similar lines against the 156 of our poem. The runic inscription may very well have been meant as a kind of epitaph,something similar to the one on the Brussels Cross,or as a devotional composition not intended to exceed the space provided on the Cross borders. From the similarity of a few lines to argue the existence of a hypothetical poem which the author of The Dream translated and enlarged,and to date the latter work on the evidence of the former seems unwarranted.

The very few Anglian forms that we find in The Dream of the Rood[1] can be explained either by prosodic requirements,as in the case of frineð(112), or as forms that became consecrated by poetic convention and accepted by later non-Anglian poets,as in the case of bestemed(48). As for the contention that the first part of the poem differs in concept and tone from the second,we may observe that if there is a difference in tone this consists in the

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[1] Such as wergas(31),sceððan(47),bestemed(48), feorgbold(73),frineð(112) and bledum(149).

Germanic-heroic thematic treatment noticeable in the first part and not so prominent in the second. But this is satisfactorily explained by the fact that the first part presents to us a man undergoing an ordeal and as such typical of the Germanic warrior, the hæleþ, engaged in a battle with his Wyrd. The second part, on the other hand, portrays Christ as a divine figure in His resurrection, harrowing of hell and ascension, and as such far removed from Germanic literary conventions since, here, it was the Church that provided the ideas and the diction. It is clear, moreover, that there is no difference, in the second part, in the author's dependence on the liturgy.

Together with the question of the date, that of the poem's authorship remains enveloped in mystery. Daniel Haigh attributes it to Caedmon[1] while J.Kemble[2] and F.E.C. Dietrich[3] assign it to Cynewolf. A.S.Cook inclines to the latter opinion[4] but more recent scholars, such as Dickins and Ross, frankly admit that in our present state of knowledge it is impossible to decide the question.[5]

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[1] D.H.Haigh, op.cit., p.173.

[2] J.M.Kemble, "On Anglo-Saxon Runes," Archaeologia Aeliana, XXVIII(1950), pp.362ff.

[3] F.E.C.Dietrich, Disputatio de Cruce Ruthwellensi, (Marburg, 1865), pp.xvii-xxvi.

[4] A.S.Cook, The Dream, pp.vii-xli.

[5] B.Dickins and A.S.C.Ross, op.cit., p.19.

C. Scholarship on the Poem's Sources

The extent of the influence of the liturgy on The Dream of the Rood has not yet been fully explored. In his annotations to the poem, A.S.Cook calls attention to the similarities between various passages in The Dream and a few liturgical texts.[1] Likewise H.R.Patch in his "Liturgical Influences on The Dream of the Rood" deals with the question without, however, exhausting it.[2] More recently the doctrinal influences on the poem have been studied by Sister Anne M. Courtney and Rosemary Woolf.[2]

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[1] A.S.Cook, The Dream, passim.

[2] Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, XXXIV(1919), pp.233-257. The writer is of opinion that whereas "no hymn or piece of liturgy seems to have furnished him [the poet] a model, . . . he would naturally express himself in the idioms of the Church"(p.233). He suggests liturgical correspondents for fracodes gealga ("crucis patibulum") and for sigebeam ("lignum triumphale"). He also notes that lines 35-37 and 43 (þær ic þa ne dorste . . .bugan oððe berstan. . . ac ic sceolde fæste standan), where the Cross explains why it did not bend or fall down to the ground, have "something to do" with Fortunatus' Pange Lingua(p.252). In lines 90-94 (me þa geweorðode wuldres ealdor / ofer holtwudu) an echo of "Sola digna tu fuisti ferre saecli pretium" from the Latin hymn of Fortunatus is observed, while other liturgical analogues are noted in ancient manuals for lines 40 (gestah he on gealgan heanne) and 126 (is me nu lifes hyht; pp.253-254).

[3] Sister Anne M.Courtney's doctrinal dissertation "'The Dream of the Rood':A Doctrinal Commentary"(Fordham University, New York, 1963) studies the theological apparatus behind the poem, while Miss Woolf's article "Doctrinal Influences on 'The Dream of the Rood'"(Medium Aevum, XXVII, 1958, pp.137-153) propounds the view that the poem is a skilful refutation of contemporary heresies. Cf. infra, pp.22-23.

Although the indebtedness of the author of The Dream of the Rood to the liturgy is thus largely acknowledged,it goes much farther than scholars have as yet indicated.By pointing out texts hitherto little known and by showing how almost every idea in the poem is based, often literally,either on some ecclesiastical ritual or on some monastic choral passage,this indebtedness can be demonstrated.The similarities between this latter liturgical source,namely the monastic breviary and other Benedictine liturgy on the one hand,and passages of The Dream on the other,are so numerous that they suggest that the poet was a priest or a monk. At times it is difficult to identify a given text as being purely monastic,or to assert that a passage found in the Benedictine breviary was not at the same time also in the breviary of the secular clergy.The difficulty is increased by the obscurity that surrounds the cursus,or daily liturgical prayers,of the diocesan priests of the early Middle Ages. For these reasons the monastic authorship of The Dream cannot be established,but a number of significant facts point to that conclusion:

1. The earliest official liturgical cursus to appear in the West and of which we have sure knowledge is the Benedictine breviary,described in detail and prescribed by St.Benedict in his Rule in the early sixth century.

2. Benedictine monks were appointed to officiate in the Roman Basilicas in the early centuries after the

institution of their Order,and in a special manner to provide the liturgical singing which was the nucleus out of which eventually emerged the diocesan clergy's breviary.[1]

3. Many of the liturgical sources of individual passages in The Dream of the Rood are the hymns of the breviary.Now,whereas these hymns have always been part of the Benedictine cursus,being mentioned in St.Benedict's Rule,[2] they were accepted only at a late date into the secular clergy's breviary,perhaps not earlier than the eleventh century.[3] Hence chances seem slender that a secular priest would be familiar enough with liturgical hymns, other than a few processional ones of general use such as the Vexilla or the Pange Lingua,to employ them as copiously as the author of The Dream does.

4. In Anglo-Saxon times Benedictine monks were the only religious Order in existence in England and for a long time after the introduction of Christianity its inly clergy. When in course of time they undertook the training of secular priests (the Canons),these were comparatively few in

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[1] I.Schuster,Liber Sacramentorum (Rome:Marietti, 1938),I,pp.26-38; V,pp.12-76.

[2] E.Schmidt(ed.),Regula S.Patris Benedicti (New York:Pustet,1911),pp.40-45.

[3] Dom Jules L.Baudot (The Breviary:Its History and Contents,London,1927,p.32)suggests the twelfth or thirteenth century,but the eleventh century seems a more likely date since many such hymns are found in the eleventh-century Leofric Collectar, a secular ritual.

number and the monks completely dominated the scene. We hear them mentioned constantly in the chronicles of the times whereas the Canons are hardly alluded to. We hear of them first in tenth-century documents and chiefly in connection with their unorthodox manner of living.[1]

5. If, as some scholars contend,[2] The Dream of the Rood was composed some two hundred years before the tenth-century manuscript in which it is found, the argument in favor of monk-authorship is strengthened.

D. The Dream and the Liturgy

There is no doubt that The Dream of the Rood draws extensively from the liturgy. It draws from it not only for its subject matter but -- as we shall see -- also for its structure. The poem is structured like a sermon: it is a sermon in verse. Thus H.R. Patch's opinion that the poem's indebtedness to the liturgy is limited to a few phrases,[3]

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[1] Several such documents deal with Byrthnoth's championship of the monks against secular priests who "were so unmonastic. . .that many of them were married" (E.V. Gordon, ed., The Battle of Maldon, London, 1937, p. 17. Cf. also D.J. Stewart, ed., Liber Eliensis, London, 1848, I, pp. 160ff.; and Petrie and Hardy, eds., "Florentii Wigornensis Chronicon," Monumenta Historica Britannica, London, 1848, p. 577).

[2] Those who attribute The Dream to Caedmon belong necessarily to this group. Cf. supra, p. 17; and A.S. Cook, The Dream, pp. x-xv. Cf. also A. Brandl, "On the Early Northunmbrian Poem "A Vision of the Cross of Christ,'" Scottish Historical Review, IX (1912), pp. 139-147.

[3] H.R. Patch, op. cit., pp. 233ff.

and Miss Woolf's statement that the poet "is influenced hardly at all by Latin hymns," or "by certain antiphons of the liturgy as lie behind the treatment of the crucifixion of Christ,"[1] are revealed as erroneous in the light of an extensive study of the liturgical background of The Dream. Miss Woolf asserts that it was "the religious thought of the poet's period,in particular the philosophic view of the person and nature of Christ and the definition of the Redemption"[2] that brought the poem into being and gave it its form.She sees the most remarkable achievement of the poet in the balance he effects between "the effects of triumph and suffering and their paradoxical fusion in the Crucifixion,"[3] which she equates to the two figures of the heroic warrior and the passive enduring Cross.These two aspects,she adds,are especially developed in the poem because the question of the relationship between Christ's human passibility and His divine power was the burning question of the day. "At the time the poet wrote," she says, "the Church insisted on the coexistence of these two elements in Christ: divine supremacy and human suffering."[4] Because of this she looks upon the poem as dogmatic in purpose,centering around the recent conciliary

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[1] R.Woolf,op.cit.,p.137.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.,p.138.

[4] Ibid.

definitions about the single person and dual nature of Christ,the communicatio idiomatum and other truths connected with Christ's Redemption.[1] She reminds us that "the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches were a living issue in England . . .between 675 and 725"[2] and that the poet could not but be influenced thereby to emphasize these two aspects: Christ's divinity,against Nestorius,and His human passibility,against Eutyches. The Dream,she concludes,is little more than the poetic treatment of this doctrinal concern.[3]

It should be pointed out,however,that nothing in the poem supports Miss Woolf's conclusions.Whether the poet was aware of and concerned with the doctrinal controversies of his times,and urged by them to write,is not indicated in the text.The poem is doctrinal only in so far as it is orthodox.Its development of the crucifixion theme far from evincing involvement with the communicatio idiomatum is not essentially different from what we would expect in an ordinary medieval sermon or Passion-play;and no substantial evidence supports the view that the poet wants to discuss profound theological questions.[4]

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[1] R.Woolf,op.cit.,p.139. [2] Ibid.,p.142.

[3] Ibid.,p.153.

[4] This has already been noted by Sr.Anna M.Courtney in her Dissertation(op.cit.,p.22):"Miss Woolf's reading. . . appears too learned for the form and content of the poem.An eighth-century audience capable of appreciating a figurative representation of a current heresy would be limited in number. . .The Dream. . .was obviously planned for universal appeal."

It is the purpose of this present work to prove that The Dream of the Rood is a straightforward lyrical poem, liturgical in source and structure and that the poet has no subtle controversial intention. His purpose is devotional and his technique anything but scholarly. Crowded as his verse is with liturgical motifs, he quotes from memory. He consults no learned books. Here is a man brought up on the liturgy, whom some recent religious experience has deeply stirred -- some striking liturgical ceremony or some flash of inner illumination -- and who resorts to the literary convention of the dream-vision to pour out his trembling emotion. In doing so he does not refer to lectionary or antiphonary. His sources "are not of the kind that can be isolated in any specific texts," as Miss Woolf correctly observes.[1] But they are liturgical for all that. The poet draws on his long familiarity with the liturgy: draws like a master and blends like an artist. It is this lack of doctrinaire approach that gives The Dream its unique artless beauty. The poem has a unity of inspiration that is rare in Anglo-Saxon literature: a unity whereby thought flows logically into thought and one liturgical motif blends gracefully into the next without leaving behind mark of suture or strain of artifice. Our poet has not been at a feast of books and stolen the scraps. He has

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[1] R. Woolf, op.cit., p.137.

been at a feast of the liturgy and absorbed the spirit.[1]

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[1] Although several scholars have in recent times tried to isolate the liturgical element in the works of Anglo-Saxon literature, few have noticed its abundance in The Dream. A recent critic has seen in Beowulf "an allegorical song intimating the divine mystery of the Redemption"(G.G.Walsh, Medieval Humanism, New York, 1942 , p.45). Another has discovered an "allegory to the liturgy of Baptism" in Grendel's mother's watery cave, and drawn the conclusion that "we may, therefore, add Beowulf to the Exodus and the Christ as evidence of the debt to the liturgy"(A.Cabaniss in " 'Beowulf' and the Liturgy," J.E.G.P., LIV(1955), pp.195-201). The question is: How about The Dream?

THE TEXT

The text of The Dream of the Rood is contained in one single MS.,the Vercelli Book, which is in a perfect state of preservation. There are,therefore,no variant readings and no textual problems.A few copying errors have been identified by various scholars whose emendations have been individually examined and adopted in this Dissertation,as noted in the apposite places.Apart from these emendations,the text has been reproduced in all its integrity except that the symbol 7 (= and) has been expanded for the reader's convenience,and that punctuation and capitalization of initial letters have been introduced as required by modern usage.

CHAPTER II

LITURGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE POEM

HWæt,ic swefna cyst,secgan wylle
hwæt me gemætte to midre nihte,
syðþan reordberend reste wunedon.
þuhte me þæt ic gesawe syllicre treow
on lyft lædan leohte bewunden,
beama beorhtost.

Line 2: MS.hæt. Emended by Grein[a].

Lines 4-6. The comparison between the Cross and a tree is universal in liturgy from the earliest times and must have been familiar to the poet of The Dream.We have seen that the Romans referred to their instrument of death as "lignum." The ancient Jews had done the same:"Cursed be the man that hangs from a tree."[1] In the early Christian liturgy a contrast is also frequently established between the tree that bore Adam's forbidden fruit and the Cross that bore the redemption from Adam's sin.[2] That this contrast too was known to our poet is evident from line 100. Both comparison and contrast are the themes of two hymns

[1] Deuteronomy,21,23.

[2] Thus in the Gelasian Sacramentary (P.L.,LXXIII, col.1177) "Salutem quam . . . ligni clauserat temerata presumptio,ligni rursus fides aperiat." See a note on this sacramentary infra,p.88.

composed by Venantius Fortunatus in the sixth century.[1] That these were in official liturgical use at the time of the poet of The Dream can be demonstrated by the fact that they are incorporated in the Gregorian Antiphonary which was certainly in existence in the eighth or ninth century,[2] not to mention later manuals such as Wulstan's Portiforium[3] and the Leofric Collectar.[4]

With special reference to line 5: on lyft lædan leohte bewunden, the idea of a cross being lifted up in the sky as a luminous vision is expressed in other Anglo-Saxon poems such as Christus(1642) and Elene(734) and is connected with the general concept of Christ being lifted up on the Cross.The idea is also associated with the belief that the Cross will appear in the sky on Judgment-

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[1] They are Vexilla and Pange Lingua.In the first we read:"Arbor decora et fulgida" addressed to the Cross; in the second:"Arbor una nobilis. . .Flecte ramos,arbor alta . . ."

[2] For a note on this antiphonary cf.infra,p.90.

[3] D.A,Hughes(ed.),op.cit.,I,p.48.

[4] W.H.Frere(ed.),The Leofric Collectar,II(London: H.B.S.,1921),p.55.For a note on this cf.infra,p.94.It may seem besides the point to cite tenth- and eleventh-century sources in this context,but we ought to remember that these liturgical codices have taken centuries to build up;that many of their entries are already found in the Gelasian Sacramentary,of the seventh century;that most of the liturgical passages we go on quoting are still,unchanged,in present-day liturgical books and therefore reflect the immemorial liturgical practice of the Church.Thus,for instance,the two hymns of Fortunatus mentioned above are still found in the Benedictine breviary on the two feasts of the Cross,May 3 and September 14.

Day:"Hoc signum crucis erit in coelo cum Dominus ad iudicandum venerit."[1] This belief and the liturgical passages that express it are ultimately based on Christ's words: "tunc apparebit signum Filii hominis."[2] The Fathers of the Church usually take this "sign" that shall appear in the sky to be the Cross.[3] However,what may have influenced our poet more directly is the vision of Constantine.This vision and the facts connected with it were the highlights of the feasts of the Cross in the Middle Ages,and liturgical books describe them in great detail.The Hyde Abbey Breviary,for example,prefaces the long legendary story by telling us that in answer to a voice from heaven Constantine lifted up his eyes:"qui in coelum intendens vidit salutiferum signum crucis."[4] This vision must have been at the back of the mind of the liturgists who coined such expressions as "O Crux, splendidior cunctis astris," "Crux benedicta nitet," "O Crux,quae per totum mundum rutilas"(all found in the mediaeval breviaries and all still extant in to-day's monastic breviary).[5]

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1 Breviarium Monasticum(ed.by H.Dessain,4th.edition, Malines,1953),verse of first nocturn,May,3.

2 Mt.,24:30.

3 Thus Bede,P.L.,XCII,col.104.

4 J.B.L.Tolhurst(ed.),op.cit.,p.249.

5 Breviarium Monasticum,feasts of the Invention (May 3),the Exaltation(September 14) and St.Andrew(November 30),respectively.

Eall þæt beacen wæs 6
begoten mid golde; gimmas stodon
fægere æt foldan sceatum.

Lines 6-8. The metaphorical expressions of the liturgy "O lignum pretiosum,"[1] "O Crux. . .in cuius brachiis pependit thesaurus"[2] and similar ones were apt to be translated into the physical use of gold and gems for cross decoration. We need only remember the cruces gemmatae of Byzantine art. Pope Gregory I is said to have presented one such cross,made of gold and enamel,to Queen Theodolinda;[3] and the cross that Augustine carried before King Ethelbert in 597 is said to have been a silver one.[4] That from the East and South the custom spread to France and England is attested by such extant objects as the Carolingian cross(Plate 4) and St.Cuthbert's pectoral cross(Plate 5).There is little doubt,therefore, that crosses begoten mid golde were familiar to our poet.The English liturgy reflected this preference for the devotional use of precious metals.Thus in the Pontificale Lanaletense,[5] found in a

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[1] J.B.L.Tolhurst(ed.),op.cit.,p.251.

[2] Liber Responsalis,P.L.,LXXVIII,col.803.

[3] See J.A.Martigny,Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes(Paris,1887),p.227.

[4] Bede,History,p.69.

[5] Edited by G.H.Doble(London:H.B.S.,1937),p.19.

tenth-century manuscript,the blessing of a cross is introduced with this rubric:"Haec dicantur si crux adornetur, alioquin praetermittantur" and the blessing itself runs: "radiet hic Unigeniti tui splendor in auro . . ." This was after all a continuation of the tradition established by Helen whom the liturgy remembers as having had a part of the newly found Cross "thecis argenteis inclusam," as the breviary has it.[1]

Fægere æt foldan sceatum can be translated "fair, to the ends of the earth," but Sweet may be right in rendering æt foldan sceatum into "at the foot of the cross,"[2] for in line 43 the same words obviously mean "to the ground." The poet is probably alluding to the brilliance traditionally associated by the liturgy with the Cross,and to the mediaeval interpretation of the shape of the Cross,with its four arms at right angles and pointing to the four points of the compass,as a symbol of universality.Thus a trope in the eleventh-century MS.Casinense says of the Cross

Ergo signum Deo dignum,
Forma cuius orbis huius
Designat effigiem.[3]

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[1] Breviarium Monasticum,May 3,third lesson of the first nocturn.Aelfric translates the expression into "mid seolfre bewunden"(Sermo XVIII,in R.Morris,op.cit.,p.99).

[2] C.T.Onions(ed.),Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader(Oxford: Clarendon Press,1950),p.218.

[3] C.Blume(ed.),Analecta Hymnica,vol.51,p.80.

swylce þær fife wæron 8
uppe on þam eaxlgespanne. Beheoldon þær engeldryhte,
fægere þurh forðgesceaft; ne wæs ðær huru fracodes gealga.

Line 9: MS. eaxle ge spanne. Emended by Sweet.
engel dryhtnes ealle. Emended by Dickins and Ross.

Lines 8-9. The problem here is what eaxlgespanne means. The word occurs only here in this compound form. "Shoulder-span," or "shoulder-link" yield little sense. Some translators take it to be the transom or cross-beam. H.R. Patch defends this interpretation with the fact that crosses with five jewels on the cross-beam were popular in Byzantine liturgical art.[1] Gespan, however, from sponnan (to join) means a clasp or link as, for example, in Elene (1129). I think this is the only possible meaning here. Whatever the case with Byzantine art, Anglo-Saxon liturgical custom had developed, and piety popularized, a cross in which five gems, or at least five main gems, were set around the point of intersection, one of the five and the largest being in the very centre. St. Cuthbert's pectoral cross (Plate 5) offers a perfect example.

Line 10. Gealga, of course, is "the gallows" and there is no doubt that the word was chosen to correspond to the liturgical "patibulum crucis." The very realism of

[1] H.R. Patch, op.cit., p.240.

the term,so daring when used in reference to Christ,makes it impossible for us to think that the poet of The Dream would have used it unless he had a precedent in the official liturgy. And in the liturgy the word is very frequently employed. "Carnis Conditor suspensus est patibulo," we are told in the Vexilla.[1] Again,an eighth-century pontifical[2] as well as the Gregorian Sacramentary[3] contain a prayer that runs:"Deus qui per . . .crucis patibulum. . ."[4] These are but a few of the very numerous examples where the expression recurs.But what perhaps influenced our poet more directly is the following passage from the Improperia, chanted on Good Friday during the ceremony of the Adoration of the Cross:"Ego te exaltavi magna virtute,et tu me suspendisti in patibulo crucis." These Improperia,of immemorial antiquity,are an integral part of the universal liturgy of the Holy Week and as such must have been known to our poet.[5]

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[1] This hymn is of universal use on the two feasts of the Cross as well as on Good Friday.

[2] The Pontifical of Egbert,ed.by W.Greenwell, (Durham:Surtees,1953),p.86.Cf.infra,p.91.

[3] P.L.,LXXVIII,col.619.

[4] Cf.also Wulstan's Portiforium,I,p.123:"Deus qui beatae crucis patibulum. . ."

[5] They are mentioned,for instance,in the tenth-century Regularis Concordia,p.42.

Ac hine þær beheoldon halige gastas, 11
men ofer moldan and eall þeos mære gesceaft.
Syllic wæs se sigebeam, and ic synnum fah,
forwunded mid wommum.

The expression men ofer moldan,of line 12,is a common alliterative tag-phrase in Anglo-Saxon literature and recurs in line 82 of The Dream. The whole sentence, however,contains a concept that is not frequently met with. The following passage from the monastic breviary conveys the idea faithfully enough:"Rex exaltatur in aethere cum nobilis trophaeum crucis ab universis Christicolis adoratur per saecula."[1]

The word sigebeam,of line 13, is found only here and in four places of the Elene,and always in reference to the Cross of Christ.Hence there is hardly a doubt that its source is to be sought in the liturgy where lignum triumphale is a frequent epithet for the Cross. Thus the monastic breviary has:"Gloriosum diem sacra veneratur Ecclesia dum triumphale reseratur lignum."[2] Another liturgical equivalent for sigebeam

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[1] Breviarium Monasticum,September 14,antiphon in the second nocturn.

[2] Ibid.,May 3,first responsory in the first nocturn.

is labarum victoriae which is also frequent in the early monastic liturgy. Thus in an eleventh-century breviary a hymn, now no longer in use, runs:

> Quo te sequentes omnibus
> Morum processu saeculis,
> Adversus omne scandalum
> Crucis feramus labarum .[1]

A labarum merely indicates a military ensign or standard, but from this whole stanza it is clear that reference is made to the sigebeam, the labarum of victory, for the accompanying interlinear translation, in the hand of the Anglo-Saxon scribe, runs: "Rode we beran guþ-fana." We may compare this with Aelfric's statement that the Cross is "ure guþ-fana wiþ þone gramlican deofol."[2] The general idea of the Cross as a victorious banner and therefore the beama beorhtost which shines all over the world and at sight of which all the holy spirits rejoice, is exactly what the liturgy expresses in the Exultet: "Et pro tanti Regis victoria . . . gaudeat et tellus tantis irradiata fulgoribus . . . et magnis populorum vocibus haec aula resultet." This hymn is chanted on

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[1] J.Stevenson(ed.), Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church, (Durham: Surtees, 1851), p.80.

[2] See R.Morris, op.cit., p.105.

the Vigil of Easter and was probably in the poet's mind at this point.[1]

The ic synnum fah and forwunded mid wommum of lines 13-14 are liturgical tag-phrases frequently encountered in Anglo-Saxon religious literature. "Ic was mine saule synnum forwundod" says a tenth-century Benedictine manual;"[2] and Elene: "Ic wæs weorcum fah, synnum asæled."(1243). The concept is distinctly liturgical: to feel stained and weighted down by sin. One of the prayers prescribed in the Regularis Concordia for the Good Friday adoration of the Cross begins "Miserere mihi,misero,oppresso facinorum pondere, multarumque nequitiarum labe pollutum."[3] Our poet could hardly have translated these words better than he did here.

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[1] The reader is invited to notice,as we proceed,how many passages in The Dream of the Rood echo some expression or other in the Holy Week service. I believe that if there has been one particular occasion that has inspired the poet with the intense and adoring emotion that throbs through The Dream of the Rood, it has been this service.

[2] E.Thomson(ed.), "The Office of the Canonical Hours: a Benedictine Liturgy of the Tenth Century," Godcunde Lar 7 Peodom:Select Monuments of the Doctrine and Worship of the Catholic Church in England before the Norman Conquest (London,1875),p.212.

[3] St.Ethelwold,op.cit.,p.42.

Geseah ic wuldres treow 14
wædum geweorðod wynnum scinan,
gegyred mid golde; gimmas hæfdon
bewrigen weorðlice Wealdendes treow.

Line 15: MS. geweorðode. Emended by Sweet.
17: bewrigene. Emended by Kemble[b].
Wealdes. Emended by Dietrich.

Wædum geweorðod,of line 15,poses a crux that scholars have been unable to solve.Are these "weeds" the gimmas of line 7, gems set in gold ? A.S.Cook suggests some such streamers as were attached to the Roman military vexilla, made out of cloth and "richly embroidered with precious stones according to Eusebius' description."[1] Patch takes wædum geweorðod to be equivalent to "ornata regis purpura" of the hymn Vexilla.[2] But where Cook's suggestion is concerned, it can be pointed out that there is no knowledge of these "streamers" in the practice,and no mention in the language,of the Church,and that,in any case,nothing would be farther from the vision-rapt poet of The Dream than Roman military streamers,even if he knew anything about them. As regards Patch's interpretation

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[1] A.S.Cook,The Dream, annotation to this line.

[2] H.R.Patch,op.cit.,pp.233f.

we ought to observe that Fortunatus' purpura does not refer to a cloth at all,the purple cloth of kingly pomp, but to the red blood of Christ,as always in the metaphorical language of the liturgy. It can hardly be taken to mean "weeds" or any form of garment.[1]

Another interpretation is offered by O.W.Stevens[2] who seems to identify these "weeds" with the clothes used in the Quem Quaeritis play described in the Regularis Concordia.[3] But if I understand his words correctly,it should be noted that the clothes in question are placed on the altar and not on the Cross.

I believe it possible that in this line of The Dream an allusion is made to the ceremony of the Deposition from the Cross during which,in medieval times,on Good Friday nights the figure of the Crucifix,fitted with folding arms and legs,was detached from the cross. This ceremony was usually performed in the church and the cross set up on or behind the main altar. Before and during the

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[1] Patch's suggestion,however,seems strengthened by the Anglo-Saxon scribe's interlinear gloss which renders the Latin "ornata Regis purpura" into "gefrætwod cynges mid godewebbe"(J.Stevenson,ed.,op.cit.,p.78).

[2] Op.cit.,p.74. Cf.also pp.24-25 of Stevens's work which are said to be a translation of the Concordia's pp.49ff.

[3] St.Ethewold,op.cit.,p.49.

unnailing operation, which was performed by two men ("Joseph" and "Nicodemus") who used ladders for the purpose,[1] the figure of Christ would, for realistic effect, be wiped with a long, folded white sheet which in places was stained red to simulate blood marks. These red stains, concealed at first within the folds, would be gradually and expertly exposed to view. After the Deposition, the figure of Christ was placed in a casket and usually taken in procession through the streets of the town, after which it was brought back to the church where it lay "in state" through the night, the object of public veneration. The cloth that had served to "wipe" the wounds, fully unfolded and clearly displaying the "blood "stains," was spread out on the transverse beam of the cross for the

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[1] This custom of immemorial antiquity has survived until a few years ago. The present writer has seen it observed regularly in India where it was introduced by Portuguese missionaries in the sixteenth century. In Catholic countries of Continental Europe (even in many New York churches, those at least patronized by congregations of Continental extraction) the custom has been discontinued only very recently. With the restoration, in 1955, of the primitive liturgy of the Holy Week, the Good Friday nights that for centuries had been characterized by the complete absence of liturgical ceremonies (the Deposition was not a liturgical but merely a popular, unofficial performance), were taken up with the Mass of the Presanctified which till then had been conducted in the morning. As a result the Deposition got crowded out and is now generally discontinued .

rest of the night.[1] If the cross happened to be studded with gold or gems,as Anglo-Saxon crosses often were,the sight of it standing forlorn in the distance,its blood-stained cloth fitfully lit up by the flicker of the sanctuary lamps,

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[1] Extant MSS. of the deposition scene go back to the twelfth century.Thus,the Norman-French La Seinte Resurrecion, of which there are two MSS.:the Paris Text,the original of which J.M.Manly assigns "to the late twelfth century"(La Seinte Resurrecion from the Paris and Canterbury MSS.,ed.by T.A.Jenkins,J.M.Manly et al.,[Anglo-Norman Text Society], Oxford,1943,Introd.,p.lxxi) and the Canterbury Text,where we read such scenes as this:

Josephus: Dan Nichodem venez od mei
. . . . . .
Tanailles e martel portez
Dunt li clou serunt derivez(Paris Text,p.20).

From an analysis of the Canterbury Text,Manly concludes that this play was certainly meant to be staged(ibid.,p.cxvf.). Other plays of the deposition go back to the fifteenth century:the Passion de Jean Michel,the Passion de Lucerne and the Passion of Donaueschungen(see G.Cohen,Histoire de la Mise-en-scène dans le Théatre Religieux Francais du Moyen Age, Paris,1951,pp.125f.).In most of these texts a suaire,or sheet,is mentioned which was used to "wipe" the wounds of Christ.Thus in Le Livre de Conduite du Regisseur,ed.by G. Cohen,Strasbourg,1925,a rubric in the play "Descente de Croix"(ibid.,pp.389ff.)directs:Ycy monte Nicodesme par devant la Croix et Joseph par derriere,et porte Joseph les tenailles et marteau,et Nicodesme porte le suaire."

In England,besides the Norman-French play mentioned above,we have in the Barking text an example of the deposition ceremony when this was still being performed in a church.Here the cross is placed on the main altar where "sub specie Joseph et Nichodemi,de ligno deponentes ymaginem,vulnera Christi vino abluant et aqua"(see K.Young,The Drama of Medieval Church,2 vols.,Oxford,1933,II,p.164).Later,when the Dramatic Cycles appear,the deposition scene figures prominently in them.Among the better known are those in "The Crucifixion" of the Wakefield Plays(New York:Doubleday,1963,pp. 393ff) and of "Passion Play II" of the Ludus Coventriae,in which last we read this direction:"Here joseph and nychodemus takyn cryst of þe cros on on o ledyr and þe tother on Another leddyr"(as quoted in Wakefield Plays,Doubleday,1963,p. 425).In an earlier work of about 1350,The Northern Passion (EETS,o.s.,No.83,London,1930,p.132) we read:"and fra his fette with mykell wogh / þai clensed þan his woundes wete / and dryed the holes in hend and fette"(lines 1387ff.).

would correspond to a nicety to the scene described in lines 15-17.[1]

The word gimmas of line 16 may be interpreted in various ways. It may refer to the nails, as in Elene(1112f.), where the nails are called "heofonsteorran oððe godgimmas," or it may stand literally for precious pearls and metals. More probably it may carry a metaphorical meaning. In liturgical language the gems of the Cross are the drops of Christ's blood. Anglo-Saxon literature seems to refer to these when it calls the Cross "golde geglenged"[2] or "sinc searobunden."[3] Aelfric brings out the metaphorical meaning clearly when he addresses the Cross: "Hail, O Cross, that wast hallowed by Christ's body and adorned with His limbs as with pearls."[4]

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[1] In fact if we may be permitted to cast a look forward to lines 57-69 where the burial scene is described, we shall easily see in them a portrayal of just such a Deposition ceremony. Two men, yearly appointed to the role and well trained, hence fuse(57), place their ladders against the Cross and begin the unnailing(hnag ic þam secgum to handa, 59-60). They lift Christ from "the heavy punishment" (of þam hefian wite, 61). The Cross then is left alone, with the nails driven back into their holes(mid strælum forwundod, 62). When Christ's body lies in state the faithful come in, a few at a time, to pay honor to it, while a couple of priests or altar-servers stand by(æt lices hæfdum, 63) to maintain order. In time the people go back home for the night, but a few generous souls(mæte weorode, 69) remain to keep Christ company.

[2] Elene, 90.

[3] F. Tupper(ed.), The Riddles of the Exeter Book, (New York, 1910), p. 38(Riddle 56).

[4] B. Thorpe(ed.), The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church(2 vols., London, 1844-1846), I, p. 596.

Hwæðre ic þurh þæt gold ongytan meahte 18
earmra ærgewin, þæt hit ærest ongan
swætan on þa swiðran healfe. Eall ic wæs mid sorgum gedrefed.
Forht ic wæs for þære fægran gesyhðe.

Line 20: MS. surgum. Emended by Grein[a].

Line 21. A supernatural vision is apt to cause awe. A vision of the Cross especially would be associated with judgment and the end of the world which are said in the liturgy to be heralded by the appearance of the Cross:"Hoc signum crucis erit in coelo cum Dominus ad iudicandum venerit."[1] This traditional belief coupled with the constant concern of the Middle Ages with the end of the world must have been responsible for the frequent visions of the Cross related in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. One such vision is mentioned for the year 773:"Her oþiewode read Cristes-mæl on hefenum æfter sunnan setlgonge."Another in 806:"rode tacn wearð ateowed on þam monan anes wodnesdæges innan ðare dagende."[2] If,as is probable,The Dream of the Rood was composed a little before the end of the tenth century,the expectation of a final apparition of this nature would cause considerable concern to Christians because of the widespread belief that the world was to end in the year 1000.

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[1] Breviarium Monasticum,September 14,responsory to third lesson of second nocturn.

[2] B.Thorpe(ed.),op.cit.,I,pp.107f.;and II,p.52, respectively.

Geseah ic þæt fuse beacen 21
wendan wædum and bleom:hwilum hit wæs mid wætan bestemed,
beswyled mid swates gange.Hwilum mid since gegyrwed.

H.R.Patch would identify the "weeds" of line 22 with the liturgical colors of the cross,variable according to the season of the ecclesiastical year:a red cross during Lent,a silver one on Palm Sunday and a crystal one at Easter.[1] But is this necessary ? Here the poet sees just one cross which changes color on the same occasion.The liturgy here provides something of a precedent.In the stanza of the Vexilla:

Arbor decora et fulgida,
Ornata Regis purpura,
Ut nos lavaret crimine
Manavit unda et sanguine,

the concept of the blood and water issuing out of the wounds of the Savior and coursing down the Cross explains very well the werb wendan.That the poet had this in mind and nothing else is evident from lines 22b-23a (wæta and swat: moisture and blood) which render very satisfactorily the Gospel's "Unus militum lancea latus eius aperuit et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua."[2] The "weeds" therefore are the blood and the water,while bleom probably refers to the sinc,the gimmas,of which the poet has already spoken. The interplay of these things in the poet's eyes causes the wendan,or the transgiguring,of the Cross.

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[1] H.R.Patch,op.cit.,pp.249ff. [2] Jo.19:34.

Hwæðre ic þær licgende lange hwile
beheold hreowcearig Hælendes treow,
oððæt ic gehyrde þæt hit hleoðrode;
ongan þa word sprecan wudu selesta:
"Þæt wæs geara iu -- ic þæt gyta geman --
þæt ic wæs aheawen holtes on ende,
astyred of stefne minum. Genaman me ðær strange feondas.

In making the Cross speak the poet shows some originality, although Catullus had made his yacht recount its history[1] and inanimate things had been made to talk in the Anglo-Saxon riddles.[2] Even the Cross had been sometimes personified in Christian homiletics.[3]

The strangefeondas of line 30 echoes the "fortes quaesierunt animam meam" and the "congregati sunt adversus me fortes" of the monastic breviary.[4] Both of these passages were in liturgical use at an early enough period to appear in Gregory the Great's Liber Responsalis.

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[1] Catullus, Poems, ed. F.K. Smith, London: 1959, p.75.

[2] Thus Riddle 31: "Ful oft mec gesiþas sendaþ æfter hondum / þæt mec weras ond wif wlonce cyssaþ." (F. Tupper ed., op.cit., p.23).

[3] Thus St. Augustine makes the Cross say: " Non agnosco . . .reum esse quem punio "(P.L., XLVII, col.1155).

[4] Breviarium Monasticum, Good Friday, third antiphon of second nocturn, and third responsory of third nocturn, respectively.

[5] P.L., LXXVIII, cols.766 and 767, respectively.

Geworhton him þær to wæfersyne, heton me heora wergas hebban. 31
Bæron me ðær beornas on eaxlum, oðþæt hie me on beorg asetton,
Gefæstnodon me þær feondas genoge. Geseah ic þa Frean mancynnes
efstan elne mycle þæt he me wolde on gestigan.

We have a choice of liturgical sources for line 34, the most obvious being this stanza from an old hymnal:

> Tu sputa, colaphos, vincula,
> Et dira passus verbera,
> Nostrae salutis gratia
> Crucem, volens, ascenderas,[1]

where the fourth line bears the interlinear :"Rode willende þu astige." The liturgical expression that Christ "climbed" or "rose" on the cross is of very great antiquity, being found in the eighth-century Pontifical of Egbert,[2] in the Regularis Concordia,[3] and other ancient manuals.[4] Even non-liturgical works borrow the expression, as, for instance, Christus (727):" þa he on rode asteg."

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[1] This hymn is found in the tenth- or eleventh-century MS. Sangallense 413A, of the Abbey of St. Gall. See C. Blume, op.cit., pp. 7ff.; and J. Stevenson, op.cit., p. 80.

[2] "Domine Jesu Christe adoro te in crucem ascendentem," see W. Greenwell, ed., op.cit., pp. 134-135.

[3] St. Ethelwold, op.cit., p. 43. Also in a MS. of St. Wolstan's private devotions:"Drihten hælend crist, ic bidde þe on rode astigende." See D.H. Hughes, op.cit., II, p. 20.

[4] For instance the tenth-century Pontificale Lanaletense: "Sanctifica quaesumus Domine crucem istam quam dignatus es . . . ascendere." See G.H. Doble, op.cit., p. 10.

þær ic þa ne dorste ofer Dryhtnes word
bugan oððe berstan, þa ic bifian geseah
eorðan sceatas. Ealle ic mihte
feondas gefyllan, hwæðre ic fæste stod.

Patch suggests that the words ic þa ne dorste. . . bugan oððe berstan have "something to do"[1] with the words of the Vexilla

Flecte ramos arbor alta,
Tensa laxa viscera;
Et rigor lentescat ille
Quem dedit nativitas.

In the Latin poem,however, the tree of the Cross is invited to relax its native stiffness and to become soft so that Christ may find some relief. The hymn has no suggestion of the Cross falling down or bursting asunder and thus sharing in the general convulsion of nature,which is the meaning the poet intends here. What obviously influenced the poet in this passage was the Gospel's account of the upheaval that took place when Christ died:"Terra mota est et petrae scissae sunt."[2] This passage recurs often in the liturgy of the Holy Week and must undoubtedly have been familiar to the poet.[3]

[1] H.R.Patch,op.cit.,p.252.

[2] Mt.,27:51.

[3] In the Leofric Collectar there is a liturgical hymn of unknown antiquity,now no longer in use:

Cruci redemptor figeris,
Terram sed omnem concutis . . .

(Cf.E.S.Dewick,op.cit.,p.402).

Ongyrede hine þa geong Hæleð,(þæt wæs God ælmihtig),
strang and stiðmod.Gestah he on gealgan heanne,
modig on manigra gesyhðe, þa he wolde mancyn lysan.
Bifode ic þa me se Beorn ymbclypte;ne dorste ic hwæðre
bugan to eorðan,
feallan to foldan sceatum.Ac ic sceolde fæste standan.

The poet goes out of his way to remind us, in line 39, that the crucified Christ is God Almighty. There seems to be little reason for this emphasis at this juncture except that the liturgy had already laid the emphasis. The poet is merely following suit. The contrast between the depth of humiliation of the Cross and the height of Christ's godhead has been a matter of never-ending wonder in Christian worship: "Regnavit a ligno Deus."[1] The stress is on lignum and on Deus. The gallows is God's throne. Northern art had fancied Christ as a young hæleð, wearing a royal crown even on the Cross.[2]

Even the concept of Christ "embracing" the Cross (line 42) runs through the liturgy and is as natural as is our custom of referring to the "arms" of the Cross. Thus a prayer to God in the Pontifical of Egbert (eighth century) runs: "Illis ergo manibus hanc crucem accipe quibus illam amplexus es."[3]

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[1] Vexilla.

[2] In Hroswitha's play "Callimachus" (tenth century) Christ is introduced as "a beautiful young man" (Paulus and Winterfeld, eds., Scriptores Rerum Germanic., Berlin, 1902, p.139).

[3] Ed. by W. Greenwell, pp. 112.

Rod wæs ic arærde; ahof ic ricne Cyning, 44
heofona Hlaford; Hyldan me ne dorste.
Þurhdrifan hi me mid deorcan næglum; on me syndon þa dolg gesiene,
opene inwidhlemmas.Ne dorste ic hira ænigum sceððan.

Line 47: MS. nænigū. Emended by Grein[b].

The first half of line 44 appears also in Andrew (966) and the Latin construction (crux steti) points to the liturgy.As for the"dark nails" of line 46,the poet leaves their number undetermined as does the liturgy.The number of nails used in the crucifixion of Christ has long being a point of dispute.Some early Fathers,like Cyprian and Augustine,speak of four,assuming that Christ's feet were nailed separately.[1] Others,however,like Gregory of Nazianzus (fourth century) and the poet Nonnus(fifth century),mention only three.In general it can be said that from the thirteenth century on three nails only were used in representations of the crucifixion.[2]

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[1] R.Morris(ed.),op.cit.,p.xx.

[2] From the mention,in Ancrene Riwle,that Christ was crucified with three nails,B.White argues that the book could not have been written before 1200 . "The Date of the Ancrene Riwle," Modern Language Review, XL(1945), pp.206ff.

Bysmeredon hie unc butu ætgædere.Eall ic wæs mid
blode bestemed, 48
begoten of Þæs Guman sidan,siððan he hæfde his
gast onsended.
Feala ic on Þam beorge gebiden hæbbe
wraðra wyrda. Geseah ic weruda God
Þearle Þenian.

With the first half of line 48 compare the Gospel's "praetereuntes autem blasphemabant eum,moventes capita sua"[1] which is sung in the Passio of Holy Week.In connection with the second half of the same line it may be observed that realistic representations of the crucifixion began to appear towards the end of the eighth century.One of the earliest,with the blood gushing out of the Savior's side,is a painting found in the Gellone Sacramentary of 780(Plate 3). This observation may be of some use in determining the date of composition of The Dream,especially when we consider that these realistic depictions were earlier,and more common,in the South than in England and the Scandinavian countries where the Crucifix was usually represented in regal garb and blood-shedding did not go well with it.

Line 49b contains an un-Anglo-Saxon expression that clearly derives from the Gospel's "emisit spiritum."[2]

As for weruda God of line 51 what else is it but the liturgical"God of Hosts,"the "Deus Sabaoth" of the Mass?

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[1] Mt.27:39.

[2] Ibid.,27:50.

þystro hæfdon 52
bewrigen mid wolcnum Wealdendes hræw,
scirne sciman; sceadu forðeode,
wann under wolcnum. Weop eal gesceaft. 55

With 52b-53a compare "tenebrae factae sunt super terram" of the monastic breviary and,ultimately,the Gospel.[1] In liturgical language the whole Good Friday service is known as Tenebrae,that is þystro.

In 55b Dickins and Ross observe the resemblance of weop eal gesceaft with the Norse story of the lament for Baldr for whom all things grieve except the giantess þokk.[2] It is doubtful,however,if our poet knew the Norse story and if,even knowing it,he would have used a tale drawn from pagan mythology in conjunction with a sacred theme with which he was,clearly,so emotionally taken up.Here and in a similar passage from Christus(1177-1179) we need assume no borrowing from other than liturgical sources.Our poet has done nothing more than translate a passage from the Benedictine breviary:"Luxit super me omnis terra."[3] This universal grief over the death of Christ is a commonplace in liturgy and homiletics:"Plangent eum quasi super unigenitum" has the votive mass of the Passion.

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[1] Breviarium Monasticum,Good Friday,responsory to second lesson of second nocturn;and Mt.27:45,respectively.

[2] B.Dickins and A.S.C.Ross,op.cit.,pp.27-28.

[3] Breviarium Monasticum,Good Friday,responsory to third lesson of second nocturn.

Cwiðþon Cyninges fyll; Crist wæs on rode. 56
Hwæðere þær fuse feorran cwoman
to þam Aeðelinge. Ic þæt eall beheold.

A touch of the literary Germanic convention is obvious in 56a(cf.Beowulf,317f.). The great merit of the poet of The Dream consists in his ability to transfigure Christ into a Saxon figure:to create a world that is nothing but Saxon and yet perfectly Christian too.With all the borrowings from Scripture and the liturgy,The Dream is a Saxon poem:Saxon down to the building of the mound,which is unwarranted by Scripture.Note words like æðeling(57), beorn(58),hilderincas(61),bana gesyhð(66),sorhleoð(67). Note also the Germanic convention of the dryht:underlying the sorrow of it all is the misery of returning home after the lord has fallen in battle. What is different here is that Christ's death,unlike a Germanic hero's,is not the end of everything,not even the end of Christ.After a spell of depression the poet remembers his Christian hope:hwæðere eft Dryhten aras(101).

Those who are said in line 57 "to come from afar" to the atheling are obviously John,Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea,whose role in the burial of Christ is mentioned in the Gospel and,several times,in the Holy Week services.[1]

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[1] Jo.,19:38-42.This and other Gospel accounts of the burial are read out on Palm Sunday and on Tuesday,Wednesday and Friday in Holy Week.

Sare ic wæs mid sorgum gedrefed,hnag ic hwæðre þam secgum to handa,
eaðmod,elne mycle. Genamon hie þær ælmihtigne God,
ahofon hine of þam hefian wite.Forleton me þa hilderincas
standan steame bedrifenne;eall ic wæs mid strælum forwunded.
Aledon hie ðær limwerigne;gestodon him æt his lices heafdum;

With this passage begins the deposition scene and the reader's attention,here and in the following two passages(pp.54-55) is recalled to what was said above[1] about the remarkable similarity of this scene to the deposition ceremony of the Middle Ages.

The decision of the Cross to bend down,after we have been repeatedly told(lines 36,38,42,45) that it would not,and could not,do so,sounds strange.To bend down now when doing so will no longer help the innocent victim seems purposeless,and the passage may reflect a flaw in the artistic concept of the poet.If it were worthwhile suggesting a change of ic to he(line 60),the inconsistency would be avoided and the words eaðmod,elne mycle of the next line would more fitly apply to Christ and echo line 34. The sense too would be clear.Applied to the Cross the verb hnigan(59) yields little satisfactory sense.

[1] Cf.supra,p.42,note.

beheoldon hie ðær heofenes Dryhten,and he hine ðær hwile reste, 64
meðe æfter ðam miclan gewinne.Ongunnon him þa moldern wyrcan
beornas on banan gesyhðe, curfon hie ðæt of beorhtan stane;
gesetton hie ðæron sigora Wealdend. Ongunnon him þa sorhleoð galan,
earme on þa æfentide.

Unless the curfon of line 66 has a pluperfect value,the poet has no scriptural authority for his statement.It is probable that he misread or misunderstood the Gospel's "posuit illud in monumento quod exciderat de petra."[1]

The dirge which Christ's friends are said(line 67) to have sung is part of the Germanic heroic conventions with which the poet was familiar.Beowulf had his sorhleoð,[2] and so had Aeneas's Trojans fallen in battle.[3] But while admitting the influence of the poet's racial background we wish to point to a probably more immediate source for this passage.This is the liturgical Improperia,the long series of doleful lamentations that are chanted on Good Friday as part of the adoration of the Cross.Monk or no monk,the Christian poet of The Dream of the Rood must have associated his sorhleoð with this liturgical chant with which he was surely familiar,even while using the terminology(sorhleoð,moldern wyrcan,banan gesyhð)of Germanic literary conventions.

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[1] Mt.,27:26.Cf.also Mk.,15:46 and Lk.,23:53.
[2] Beowulf,3152. [3] Vergil,Aeneid,XI,190.

Þa hie woldon eft siðian 68
meðe fram þam mæran þeodne;reste he þær mæte weorode.
Hwæðere we ðær greotende gode hwile
stodon on staðole, syððan stefn up gewat
hilderinca. Hræw colode,
fæger feorgbold.

Line 70: MS.reotende. Emended by Grein[a].
71: stefn missing in MS. Supplied by Sweet.

An interesting parallel to 68b-69a is found in this passage from Leo the Great's Homily for Ascension Day which is part of the monastic office of that day:"Mors enim Christi multorum discipulorum corda turbaverat et. . . de exanimati corporis sepultura gravatis moestitudine mentibus,quidam diffidentiae torpor obrepserat."[1] In view of the poet's description of the Ascension in the closing lines of The Dream of the Rood it is very probable that he had this passage in mind.

The mæte weorode of line 69 sounds typical of Anglo-Saxon understatement:with no one at all.However, both here and in line 124 where the expression recurs,we should bear in mind what was said on page 41.The resemblance of this description to the late hours of a Good Friday night when,after the deposition ceremony,most people would return home but a few would remain through the night, is truly remarkable.

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[1] Breviarium Monasticum,second lesson of second nocturn. In P.L.,LIV,col.394.

Þa us man fyllan ongan 73
ealle to eorðan; Þæt wæs egeslic wyrd !
Bedealf us man on deopan seaþe.Hwæðre me Þær Dryhtnes Þegnas
freondas gefrunon;

In connection with lines 75-76,an anonymous Anglo-Saxon homily entitled Þære halgan rode gemetnes[1] gives us the medieval legend of how Helen discovered the Cross.The following episode is significant for our purpose.One of the Jews whom Helen had commissioned to find the Cross began to excavate the site where an earth-tremor had indicated that the Cross lay hidden."When he had delved to a depth of twenty feet he found three crosses."[2] The homiliast obviously culled this detail from the monastic breviary where it is described in exactly the same words:"Cum introrsus viginti passus perfodisset ,invenit tres cruces in terra defossas."[3]

The Dryhtnes Þegnas of line 75 are,of course,Helen and her helpers.The word gefrunon of line 76,in this sense of "learning by inquiry," is the exact parallel of the liturgical "exquirere" used in the medieval analogues:"Jerosolimam proficiscens ad exquirendum lignum preciosum. . ."[4]

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[1] Published by R.Morris,op.cit.,pp.3-17.

[2] Ibid.,p.13.

[3] Hyde Abbey Breviary,ed.by J.B.L.Tolhurst,pp.249v-250.We meet the story again in Cursor Mundi:"quen he rigt depe had delluin sare / mare Þen xx. fote or mare / Þai fande iij. crossis"(as quoted by R .Morris,op.cit.,p.113).

[4] Hyde Abbey Breviary,p.249.

Gyredon me golde and seolfre 77
Nu þu miht gehyran, hæleð min se leofa,
þæt ic bealuwara weorc gebiden hæbbe,
sarra sorga.

"Hie [Helen] þa halgan cristes rode bewyrcan het mid golde and mid seolfre and mid diorwurþum gimmum." Thus the anonymous Anglo-Saxon homily,[1] borrowing again from the monastic breviary.[2]

Dickins and Ross suggest the possibility that a final revision of af the poem was made when Pope Marinus sent a relic of the Cross to King Alfred in 885 and that the Brussels Cross preserves this relic.[3] If this is correct, it may also be that the poet had this cross in mind when he wrote these words for we know that it was "covered with a silver lamina and on this gilt symbols of the four evangelists appear... .In the middle is a gilt medallion."[4]

With line 78 begins what is often considered the addition to the original poem.This question,however,need not detain us here.Our aim is to point out the influence of the liturgy on the poem and from this viewpoint The Dream is indebted,as we shall see,to liturgical sources in the second part as much as in the first.

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[1] See R.Morris,op.cit.,p.15.

[2] Breviarium Monasticum,May 3,third lesson of second nocturn:"Partem crucis reliquit,thecis argenteis inclusam."

[3] B.Dickins and A.S.C.Ross,op.cit.,pp.15 and 19.

[4] Ibid.,p.14.

Is nu sæl cumen 80
þæt me weorðiað wide and side
menn ofer moldan and eall þeos mære gesceaft,
gebiddaþ him to þyssum beacne.On me Bearn Godes
þrowode hwile; forþan ic þrymfæst nu
hlifige ûnder heofenum,

Lines 80b-83a echo the liturgy:"Ita res quae antea hominibus probrô ac ludibrio fuerat,venerationi et gloriae esse coepit."[1] The concept is commonplace in Christian doctrine:what formerly had been a token of infamy is now become an object of veneration.Extra-liturgical literature too voices the same concept.Tatwine makes the Cross say:"Modo me gaudens orbis veneratur et ornat,"[2] and Eusebius:"Multi me fugiunt multique frequenter adorant."[3] A contrast is worked out by the poet in lines 83b-85a which is,again,a common liturgical theme:per crucem ad lucem. The Son of God suffered on the Cross for a while,therefore is the Cross so glorious now.

As for the Cross being the most noble tree,towering (hlifige) under the vault of the sky,we have already seen liturgical analogues in Fortunatus' Vexilla("inter omnes arbor una nobilis") and the monastic breviary.[4]

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[1] Breviarium Monasticum,May 3,fourth leseon of second nocturn.

[2] Enigma"De Cruce" edited and published by J.A.Giles, Anecdota Bedae,Lanfranci et Aliorum(London,1851),p.27.

[3] Ibid.,p.57. [4] Breviarium Monasticum,May 3, antiphon ad Benedictus:"Inter. . .ligna. . .tu sola excelsior."

and ic hælan mæg 85

æghwylcne anra, þara þe him biŏ egesa to me.

The liturgical "fit salus aegris" of the monastic breviary covers the expression perfectly.[1] Compare also "O Crux ammirabilis,[2] evacuatio vulneris,restitutio sanitatis" which appears in the Leofric Collectar[3] and the Hyde Abbey Breviary,[4] to mention only a few examples.

The diseases which the Cross could cure were believed to be principally those of the soul,but simple people would seek bodily cures as well.In one of Aelfric's homilies we are told that through the Cross which Heraclius restored to Jerusalem "manega untrume from myslicum coþum þære wurdon hælede."[5] The universality in England of the belief that the Cross could cure people is reflected in Aelfric's Life of King Oswald in which a number of healings are attributed to the Cross that Oswald ordered to be erected on the site of his battle.[6]

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[1] Breviarium Monasticum,May 3,first antiphon of second nocturn.

[2] The double m of this word,which is not Latin but Italian,besides being of philological interest,shows that the liturgical texts of the Middle Ages were written in Italy,obviously for the purpose of making official supervision possible.

[3] W.H.Frere(ed.),op.cit.,p.231.

[4] J.B.L.Tolhurst(ed.),op.cit.,p.249v.

[5] See R.Morris(ed.),op.cit.,p.105.

[6] See C.T.Onions(ed.),op.cit.,p.75.

Iu ic wæs geworden wita heardost 87
leodum laðost,

The contrast between the reverence with which Christians regard the Cross and the abhorrence with which it was looked upon in pre-Christian times is a commonplace in liturgical language. The Pontifical of Egbert,of the eighth century,speaks of the Cross "quae licet fuerit aliquando in poenam sed nunc versa est in honorem." And again: "Deus qui beate crucis patibulum quod prius erat scelestis ad poenam convertisti damnatis ad vitam. . ."[1] This last prayer is also met in the Leofric Collectar[2] and the Leofric Missal.[3] The remembrance of the Cross as an instrument of ignominious death is partly due to the scriptural "Cursed be he that hangs on a tree."[4] St.Paul comments on these words in his epistle to the Galatians which is read,in parts, in the Benedictine office.[5] St.Augustine's statement,too, that "the wood of the Cross is looked upon as a mark of infamy by our enemies" is found in the monastic office.[6]

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[1] W.Greenwell(ed.),op.cit.,pp.112 and 89,respectiv.

[2] E.S.Dewick(ed.),op.cit.,p.167.

[3] F.R.Warren(ed.),The Leofric Missal(Oxford,1883), p.159.

[4] Deuter.,21:23.

[5] Breviarium Monasticum,May 3,first lesson of first nocturn.

[6] Ibid.,Maundy Thursday,third lesson of second nocturn.The same idea is found in Tatwine's enigma "De Cruce;" "Lege fui quondam cunctis iam larvula servis"(J.A.Giles, ed.,op.cit.,p.27).

ærþan ic him lifes weg 88
rihtne gerymde, reordberendum.
Hwæt, me þa geweorðode wuldres Ealdor
ofer holtwudu, heofonrices Weard,

Line 91: MS.holmwudu. Emended by Kemble[a].

The concept expressed in lines 88-89,of the Cross being a path in spiritual life ,or a ladder leading to Heaven,is as old as the Church.Paulinus of Nola († 431) in his Elogium Crucis speaks of the Cross as "scala per quam itur ad coelum."[1] That the tree of the Cross is a way,or means,towards the recovery of the life we lost through the tree of the forbidden fruit,is a basic concept of Christian soteriology.As the Passiontide preface of the Mass puts it, the Cross brings about "ut unde mors oriebatur inde vita resurgeret."Hence we often meet liturgical expressions comparing the Cross to a pilot guiding shipwrecked man to the heavenly port:"atque portum præparare nauta mundo naufrago" (Vexilla). And of Christ hanging on the Cross the monastic office says:"in ligno pendens nostrae salutis semitam invenit."[2] The concept flows over from the liturgy into extra-liturgical compositions of a devotional nature,as in Rabanus' verse:"Es placita superis,crux,huic es navita mundo."[3]

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[1] P.L.,LXI,col.550.

[2] Breviarium Monasticum,responsory to first lesson of first nocturn,May 3.

[3] P.L.,CVII,col.251.

swylce swa he his modor eac, Marian sylfe 92
ælmihtig God, for ealle menn
gæweorðode ofer eall wifa cynn.

This unexpected and somewhat incongruous introduction of Mary is one of the flaws of the poem. The poet was obviously having before his eyes Fortunatus' Pange Lingua where Mary is also introduced, but how differently! The Latin poet outlines the spiritual history of man, from original sin to his redemption through Mary:

Quando venit ergo sacri
Plenitudo temporis,
. . . . . .
orbis Conditor
Caro factus prodiit.
. . . . . .
Membra pannis involuta
Virgo mater alligat.

This would point once more to the heavy dependence of the poet of The Dream on the liturgy.[1]

The concept of Mary being exalted ofer eall wifa cynn clearly echoes the liturgical "blessed art thou among women."

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[1] It is pertinent here to remember that much of the association of Mary with the Cross in the liturgy is due to the fact that in the Middle Ages it was generally believed that the crucifixion of Christ had taken place on March 25 which was also the feast of the Annunciation. Consequently in the minds of the faithful the two events became mutually evocative. This association is reflected in the Oremus of the Angelus where the Passion and the Annunciation are joined together: "Pour forth, we beseech thee, O God, thy grace into our hearts, that we to whom the incarnation of Christ was made known by the message of an angel, may by His Passion and Cross. . ." (See E. Male, L'Art Religieux en France au XIIIe Siecle, Paris, 1913, pp. 67 and 244).

Nu ic þe hate, hæleð min se leofa, 95
þæt ðu þas gesyhðe secge mannum;
onwreoh wordum þæt hit is wuldres beam,
se ðe ælmihtig God on þrowode
for mancynnes manegum synnum
and Adomes ealdgewyrhtum. 100

It is difficult not to see in these lines the direct influence of Fortunatus' Pange Lingua:

Pange Lingua gloriosi
Proelium certaminis,
Et super crucis trophaeum
Dic triumphum nobilem,
Qualiter redemptor orbis
Immolatus vicerit.
. . . . . .
De parentis protoplasti
Fraude Factor condolens. . .

Interesting is the poet's rendering of Parentis protoplasti fraude (the wrong committed by the first parent) into Adomes ealdgewyrht. The poet's emphasis seems to be on the relationship and contrast between the wondrous tree on which Christ suffered and that from which Adam committed his sin. To this thought corresponds in the Latin hymn:

Ipse lignum tunc notavit
Damna ligni ut solveret.

This poetic justice,if we may so call it,is again expressed in the next stanza of the Pange Lingua:

Et medelam ferret inde
Hostis unde laeserat,

which may be paraphrased:"a divine art extracted the remedy from the very means of the hostile fraud,namely the tree!"

Deaŏ he þær byrigde; hwæðere eft Dryhten aras 101
mid his miclan mihte mannum to helpe.

Whatever the source that suggested this peculiar use of the verb byrigan it must have been a liturgical one since the un-Anglo-Saxon expression is the literal rendering of the biblical gustare mortem. To see death,to die the death and to taste death are all cognate accusatives,a Hebrew idiom translated literally into the Latin Bible of St.Jerome and from the Bible transplanted into the liturgy.Thus we read in Mark 8:39:"There are some here standing who will not taste death," and in John 8:52:"If anyone keep my word he will never taste death." This latter passage would be familiar to our poet since it occurs in the Gospel sung at Mass on Passion Sunday.

With these two lines of The Dream begins the didactic part of the poem which will continue till line 121.The sudden exclamation that Christ arose with His great power, coming soon after the statement that He tasted death,is a departure from the traditional Germanic treatment of the heroic theme.There the hero dies valiantly,mannum to helpe; to save his people,but with his death everything ends. Beowulf slays the dragon and dies and with his brave fight saves his people,but only for a time.His death is the cause of fresh national evils.Here on the contrary Christ dies but rises again,mannum to helpe,and His help is everlasting. This is the reason for the poet's optimism.

He þa on heofenas astag. Hider eft fundaþ 103
on þysne middangeard mancynn secan
on domdæge Dryhten sylfa,
ælmihtig God and his englas mid,
þæt he þonne wile deman, se ah domes geweald,
anra gehwylcum, swa he him ærur her
on þyssum lænum life geearnaþ. 109

The theme and tone,here,are typical of the Anglo-Saxons' preference for the feast of the Ascension and of their concern for doomsday.The two concepts may seem to have little in common but a person who knows his Scripture,as our poet certainly does, will remember the words of the angels soon after Christ ascended into Heaven:"This Jesus who was taken up . . . shall return the same way."[1]

The desire of the poet to impress his readers,here, with the terror of judgment is all of a piece with the general expectation,during the first ten centuries of the Christian era,of the end of the world.Medieval literature, liturgical and otherwise,is full of gloomy forebodings. Already in the sixth century Gregory the Great,in one of his homilies,incorporated in the Benedictine breviary,[2] enumerates the evils that,out of those foretold by Christ as forerunners of the end,had already taken place(war,earth-

[1] Acts 1:11.

[2] Breviarium Monasticum,first Sunday in Advent, fourth lesson of third nocturn.P.L.,LXXVI,cols.1078ff.

quake and pestilence),and expects the rest to follow shortly.As we approach the year 1000 warnings become more frequent and pressing.Christus(line 1782),the Blickling Homily("þysses middangeardes ende neah is"),[1] King Eadmund in a 944 Charter("vicinus finis terminus esse cunctis in proximo cernitur")[2] are but a few of the texts revealing the apprehension of the time.

The on heofenas astag is,clearly,the "et ascendit in coelum" of the Mass.The hider eft fundaþ. . .mancynn secan is also from the same source:"Inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos." G.Grau thought he had found the source for lines 103-121 in St.Ephrem's homily "In pretiosam et vivificam Crucem Domini."[3] It is difficult,however, to detect any special connection between the two.What the poet gives us here is the traditional development of the theme of the Last Judgment the details of which were available to him from the Gospel itself.[4] If we must speak of

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[1] Published in J.F.Hulbert(ed.),Bright's Anglo-Saxon Reader(New York:Holt & Co.,1964),pp.67-73.

[2] Published in C.T.Onions(ed.),op.cit.,pp.51-55.

[3] G.Grau,"Quellen und Vervandtschafen," Studien zur englischen Philologie,XXXI(1908),p.175.The passages that have attracted Grau's attention are:". . .quibus fieri incipientibus etiam virtutes coelorum commovebuntur.Quis non horreat et contremiscat in hora illa quando rex regum a throno gloriae suae exurgens descendet. . .singulis mercedem secundum opera redditurus.Audistis quanta sit crucis potentia,quantae eius virtutes,quantaque bona." Cf.also B.Dickins and A.S.C.Ross,op.cit.,p.32.

[4] Mt. 25:31-46.

immediate sources it is more probable that Be Domes Dæge is one. This is an Anglo-Saxon translation of the De Die Iudicii, a medieval poem most of which is attributed to Bede and some parts to Alcuin.[1] Its theme is the popular one of the Last Judgment and follows the traditional lines of treatment: how holy and powerful the Judge, how sinful and helpless the soul and how final the sentence. Its aim is didactic:

> Illa dies veniet, iudex qua venerit orbis,
> Debebis qua tu rationem reddere de te.
> Suadeo praevenias lachrymis modo iudicis iram (11.36-38).

The belief that the Judge will come accompanied by all His angels is a clear echo of the Gospel's "Filius hominis veniet in majestate et omnes angeli eius cum illo."[2] This evangelical passage makes several appearances in the Benedictine breviary although not always in its textual exactitude. An antiphon runs: "Ecce Dominus veniet et omnes sancti eius cum eo."[3] Another: " Ecce apparebit Dominus. . . et cum eo sanctorum millia."[4]

The reason why the poet devotes so much time, in this poem on the Cross, to the Last Judgment, is to be sought

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[1] P.L., XCIV, col. 634, where the work is listed among the doubtful compositions of Bede. The free Anglo-Saxon translation that appears bound together with the Latin original in the MS. was edited by J.R. Lumby, Be Domes Dæge, London, 1878.

[2] Mt. 25:31.

[3] Breviarium Monasticum, first and second Sundays in Advent, third antiphon at Lauds, and responsory to second lesson of first nocturn, respectively.

[4] Ibid., third Sunday in Advent, responsory to first lesson of first nocturn.

in the traditional association of the Cross with the Judgment.This association is based on the words of Christ: "And then will appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven . . .and he will send forth his angels with a trumpet."[1] Many Fathers of the Church interpreted this passage in terms of the end of the world and the appearance of the Cross in the sky.This Cross,borne by angel hands,was seen as a symbol of predestination for the elect and of damnation for the reprobates.Hence the popular medieval prayer:"Set thy Cross . . . between thy judgment and our souls."[2]

The expression se ah domes geweald of line 107 clearly echoes the Gospel's"Pater omne judicium dedit Filio,"[3] while the words swa he him ærur . . . geearnaþ of the next line reproduce the Gospel's "Dominus reddet unicuique secundum opera eius."[4] The thought is basic to Christian theology and is ubiquitous in liturgy.The Mass of the Dead, to give but one example,has "Opera enim illorum sequuntur illos."[5]

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[1] Mt. 24:30-31.

[2] In the northern churches of medieval Europe the Cross was not usually placed on the altar,as is done now,but on the chancel-arch which was normally boarded so as to make a kind of background to the cross.On this background scenes of the Last Judgment were often painted.Hence the origin of the prayer.See C.E.Pocknee,Cross and Crucifix in Christian Worship and Devotion(London,1962),p.68.

[3] Jo. 5:22.

[4] Mt. 16:27.

[5] Lectio of the Mass for the Dead("quotidiana"), culled from Apoc. 14:13.

Ne mæg þær ænig unforht wesan
for þam worde þa se Wealdend cwyð;
frineð he for þære mænige hwær se man sie,
se ðe for Dryhtnes naman deaðes wolde
biteres onbyrigan,swa he ær on ðam beame dyde.

This whole passage and the two following lines echo the Gospel's description of the Last Judgment.[1] Ne mæg . . . unforht wesan is a traditional liturgical motif:the fear of the Judge,the"quantus tremor est futurus" of the Dies Irae. But centuries before this famous hymn was composed,the motif was already in the liturgy.The office of the Dead, both ritual and choral,is full of it.Thus the Benedictine breviary prays:"Domine,quando veneris iudicare terram,ubi me abscondam? Quia peccavi nimis."[2]

"To suffer for the Lord's name" and "to taste death"(lines 113-114) are phrases as liturgical as they are un-Anglo-Saxon,and there is no doubt as to the source from which they derive. The expression "to taste death" has already been commented on. "To suffer for the Lord's name" is frequent in the Gospel:"Si quis reliquerit patrem aut matrem . . . propter nomen meum. . ."[3]

Biteres(line 114) means "biter" not "bitter" and refers to the liturgical morsus:"Morsus tuus ero,inferne."[4]

[1] Mt. 25:31-46.

[2] Breviarium Monasticum,Officium Defunctorum,responsory to third lesson of first nocturn.

[3] Mt. 10:22; 19:29.

[4] Breviarium Monasticum,Holy Saturday,ant.of Lauds.

Ac hie þonne forhtiaþ and fea þencaþ
hwæt hie to criste cweþan onginnen.
Ne þearf þær þonne ænig anforht wesan
þe him ær in breostum bereþ beacna selest.
Ac þurh ða rode sceal rice gesecan
of eorþwege æghwylc sawl
sea þe mid Wealdende wunian þenceþ."

Line 117: MS. unforht. Emended by Grein[b].

The first two lines of this passage obviously refer to the difficulty of finding suitable excuses at the Judgement, and may have been suggested by the Gospel's "Domine, quando te vidimus esurientem. . . et non ministravimus tibi?" with the rest of Christ's description of the Judgement.[1] In this sense the fea of line 115 would not mean "a little time," as Dickins and Ross suggest,[2] but would rather be another example of Anglo-Saxon understatement: few indeed will be those (namely no one at all) who will think(or:find) what to say to Christ.

Lines 117-121 sound like a typical peroration at the end of a medieval sermon on the Cross. Thus the anonymous Anglo-Saxon homily from which we have already quoted ends:"We þurh þa halgan cristes rode us gebletsian moton þæt we ealle deofla on þisum life and on þam toweardan

[1] Mt. 25:44.

[2] B.Dickins and A.S.C.Ross, op.cit., p.32.

hyndra and midwununga forbugan magon."[1] In this passage of The Dream the meaning is : "The man who has borne the cross on his breast need not be afraid of the Judgment." It is possible that Dickins and Ross are right in taking rode of line 119 metaphorically,according to Christ's words: "Unless you take up your cross daily and follow me . . ."[2] But in a tenth-century poem,just as in a tenth-century sermon,intended for a simple and unsophisticated audience,the physical wearing of devotional crosses would probably be the foremost meaning intended. That Anglo-Saxons made wide use of devotional crosses for personal use is attested by the rituals of the time, for instance the Pontificale Lanaletense of the tenth-century where we have a number of liturgical blessings of devotional crosses.[3] As for St.Cuthbert's pectoral cross see Plate 4.

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[1] See R.Morris,op.cit.,p.17.

[2] Mt. 10:38.

[3] See G.H.Doble,op.cit.,p.19.

Gebæd ic me þa to þam beame bliðe mode,
elne mycle, þær ic ana wæs
mæte werede; wæs modsefa
afysed on forðwege; feala ealra gebad
langunghwila. Is me nu lifes hyht
þæt ic þone sigebeam secan mote,
ana ofter þonne ealle men
well weorþian; me is willa to ðam
mycel on mode, and min mundbyrd is
geriht to þære rode.

With line 122 begins the dreamer's prayer the elegiac tone of which enables the poet to reveal more clearly the peculiarities of his Anglo-Saxon temperament. This more personal tone,however,does not prevent him from making as free with liturgical sources as heretofore.

In mæte werede of line 124 we can see a confirmation of what was said above(p.42) about the description of the burial (lines 57-69) being a reproduction of a medieval Deposition ceremony. Here the Cross has ceased to speak and the dream is over. The scene shifts from Calvary to the poet's immediate environment. But the mæte weorod,the little company,remains,and the poet with it. This weorod can no longer be Joseph and Nicodemus and their helpers. Hence there is no other way,surely there is no better way,of understanding the passage except in

terms of our interpretation. What is here suggested is that the "dream" has been a reverie in which the poet has indulged during one such religious ceremony; that after the actual deposition is over and most of the people gone home,the poet remains with a few fervent souls, perhaps through the night,in prayer and meditation; and that in the emotion that the drama just enacted has stirred in him he voices his love and sorrow and the resolution to "seek" the Cross(126-127) and the desire to join it in Heaven(129-131 and 138-139).

Dickins and Ross take the langunghwila of line 126 as "weariness" or accidia."[1] The context,however, seems to require the usual meaning of longing,namely the desire for something that is missing. In liturgical as well as non-liturgical language the word is normally used in this sense. Thus Beowulf (1879-1880):"After deorum men dyrne langa / beorn wiþ blode," where langa can only be the yearning for the beloved man,and hence anything but "accidia."[2] Again,the Blickling Homily tells us of a man who,grieving("langung") for the death of a friend, went abroad for many years.In the end,however,his love for

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[1] B.Dickins and A.S.C.Ross,op.cit.,p.33.

[2] Cf. also Deor,3; Seafarer,47.

his country forced him to return.This is expressed by the homiliast: "Þa ongan hine eft langian on his cyððe."[1] What the poet of The Dream wants to tell us is that he has known sorrow,that he has suffered many bereavements(131ff.) and that now that he has realized what the Cross stands for (namely hyht,126;mundbyrd,130) he wishes for the day when he too may rejoin his friends in heaven(138).

Hyht of line 126b obviously means"joyful hope." Whether we take this to be the hope to attain to the Cross or the joy to be derived from associating with it,the thought is fundamentally liturgical. The Vexilla calls the Cross "spes unica," and "spei suffragium" is how the Leofric Collectar describes it.[2] Non-liturgical devotional literature too regards the Cross as joyful and productive of happiness. Thus in Tatwine's enigma De Cruce: "Modo me gaudens orbis veneratur et ornat,"[3] and Riddle 31 of the Exeter Book: "Þær ic monnum sceal / ycan upcyme eadignesse."[4]

The mundbyrd of line 130b is "security. The poet feels safe under the protection of the Cross.This concept too is distinctly liturgical.One of the most common benedictory formulas in the ritual is " Per signum crucis de

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[1] J.R.Hulbert,op.cit.,p.71.

[2] E.S.Dewick,op.cit.,p.167.

[3] J.A.Giles,op.cit.,p.27.

[4] F.Tupper,op.cit.,p.23.

inimicis nostris libera nos Domine." The most ancient liturgical manuals stress this special function of the Cross to guard and protect. The Gelasian Sacramentary has this Postcommunio in the Mass for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross:

> Adesto familiae tuae,quaesumus,clemens et misericors Deus,ut adversis et prosperis preces exaudias et nefas adversariorum per auxilium sanctae crucis digneris contendere ut portum salutis tuae valeant adprehendere.Per Dominum.[1]

Thus too the Pontifical of Egbert in a ritual blessing of a cross: " . . . sit [crux] in hoste victoria,sit in campo custodia,sit in domo concordia,sit in vita fultura"; and again: "concede plebem tuam eius vallari praesidio cuius est armata vexillo.Amen."[2]

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[1] P.L.,LXXIV,col.1177.

[2] W.Greenwell,op.cit.,pp.24 and 89,respectively. Cf.also the Leofric Collectar:"Deus . . . concede plebi tuae ut crux sit ei in adversis defensio,in prosperis adiuventum"(E.S.Dewick,op.cit.,p.167).

Nah ic ricra feala
freonda on foldan. Ac hie forð heonon
gewiton of worulde dreamum, sohton him wuldres Cyning,
lifiaþ nu on heofenum mid Heahfædere,
wuniaþ on wuldre.

Here the poet dips into the elegiac mood characteristic of his race.He tells us that he had rich friends and has lost them.This is the stock elegiac theme of Anglo-Saxon literature.To be kingless,to remain without powerful friends and protectors was,in Germanic times,the supreme ill-will of the Wyrd.Thus The Wanderer laments being "freondleas"(28) and wineleas(45);and The Seafarer of being "wine mægum bidroren"(16).[1] In The Dream the loss is tempered by Christian hope:the friends are not lost forever: they "wuniaþ on wuldre" where the poet too will join them one day(135 and 139-141). Ricra freonda must mean holy, rather than rich,friends,since they said to be in heaven.

Except in this place the word heahfæder always means "patriarch."[2] Its use here may be due to the poet's attempt at Christianizing the Germanic idea of the dryht. And the liturgy provided him with a precedent by naming God "Pater Altissimus" and "Pater Excelsus."[3]

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[1] Cf.also Beowulf(2150)"Ic lyt hafo heafomaga,"and The Wife's Lament(16-17):"Ahte ic leofra lyt. . .freonda."

[2] Cf.Juliana(514);Aelfric's Preface to Genesis and The Harrowing of Hell(J.R.Hulbert,op.cit.,pp.107 and 131).

[3] Cf.Liber Usualis(Rome:Desclée,1947),p.90.

and ic wene me 135
daga gehwylce hwænne me Dryhtnes rod
þe ic her on eorðan ær sceawode
on þyssum lænan life gefetige,

Wene of line 135b will yield better sense if it is taken to mean "I await" rather than "I hope." Taken in its present context, its source can be seen in the antiphon of the Benedictine breviary: "O crucis victoria et admirabile signum, in coelesti curia fac nos captare triumphum."[1]

The thought that life is transitory, expressed in the last line of this passage, can be taken to be typical of the Anglo-Saxon temperament always inclined to the elegiac mood. The best known example of this mood is perhaps the observation of King Edwin's atheling that man's life here below is like the swift flight of a bird through the mead-hall.[2] But the liturgy too abounds with similar expressions and the poet may have had one or other of them in mind. Thus the Oratio for the third Sunday after Pentecost urges us that we "sic transeamus per bona temporalia ut non amittamus aeterna," where the word temporalia, used in contrast with aeterna, can only mean "transitory."

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[1] Breviarium Monasticum, September 4, fourth antiphon of first nocturn.

[2] Bede, History, p. 125.

and me þonne gebringe þær is blis mycel 139
dream on heofenum, þær is Dryhtnes folc
geseted to symle, þær is singal blis;
and he þonne asette þær ic syððan mot
wunian on wuldre, well mid halgum
dreames brucan. 144

Here at the back of his mind the poet must have had the idea of the dryht:of lord and thanes sitting at table in the mead-hall.This traditional idea,conventional to heroic poetry,is to be found in most Anglo-Saxon poems both Christian,like The Fall of the Angels and the Battle of Maldon and non-Christian,like Beowulf.In this passage of The Dream,however,the poet may have been influenced more directly by those liturgical and biblical contexts which refer to the heavenly banquet,such as "I will not henceforth drink of the fruit of this vine until the day when I shall drink it in the kingdom of my Father."[1] This passage from Matthew is chanted on Palm Sunday and repeated,in the Mark and Luke versions,on Tuesday and Wednesday of Holy Week. The liturgy provided our poet also with the comparison of heaven to a Curia which is the Latin equivalent to an Anglo-Saxon thane-hall,as in this passage from the Benedictine breviary: "O crucis victoria, . . . in coelesti curia fac nos captare triumphum."[2]

[1] Mt. 26:29;cf.Mk. 14:25 and Lk. 22:18.

[2] Breviarium Monasticum,Sept.14,fourth antiphon of first nocturn.

Si me Dryhten freond 144
se þe her on eorðan ær þrowode
on þam gealgtreowe for guman synnum:
he us onlysde, and us lif forgeaf,
heofonlicne ham.

This pasaage is clearly the final blessing and the end of the poem.The lines that follow appear to be out of context and are probably displaced,as we shall note later. A medieval sermon or devotional treatise would normally end with this note of prayerful wish. Thus the anonymous Anglo-Saxon sermon on the Invention of the Cross from which we have already quoted,ends

> . . .and Dryhten þe on þære halgan rode þrowode,us gefultumige . . . and si him simble lof and wuldor . . . ealre his godnessa þe he mancynne gecyd hæfde a on ealre wurulda a on ecnisse.Amen.[1]

At this point we can finally see the plan of The Dream. Not only does the poem depend on liturgical sources for its subject-matter but also for its very structure. If we may be allowed to extend the meaning of the word liturgy to include the Church's homiletics,we can truthfully say that The Dream of the Rood is structured like a medieval sermon:it is a sermon in verse.

A medieval sermon could be of two kinds:doctrinal, if mainly intended to convey a point of doctrine,or

[1] R.Morris,op.cit.,p.17.

panegyrical,if delivered on the occasion of a saint's feast. Ordinary Sunday sermons would normally be of the former kind while a sermon on the Cross would fall under the latter category. In a doctrinal sermon the structure would be exordium,exposition,exemplum and peroration,this last being usually followed by a blessing.But in a panegyric where the life of the saint was to be narrated as an incitement to virtuous living,the exemplum (namely the saint's life itself) would come before the exposition (sometimes function as the exposition),and the structure would then be exordium,exemplum,exposition and peroration followed by the valedictory blessing.

This structure is easily observable in medieval homilies. The Blickling Homily entitled "Þisses middangeardes ende neah is "[1] is a doctrinal sermon.It begins with an exordium introducing the subject,followed immediately by the exposition:the world indeed is coming to an end(p.66);look at the signs foretold by Christ! The greater the reason for us to to perform good works(68).Apart from the end of the world,the end of each one of us is imminent,death!(69).What foolishness to mind the temporal and forget the eternal(70).Then comes the exemplum and finally the peroration: Uton we þonne þæs geþencean,þa hwile þe we magon . . .(72).

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[1] J.F.Hulbert,op.cit.,pp.67-73.

Let us now analyze an example of panegyric. The Anglo-Saxon homily on the Invention of the Cross that we have mentioned above(p.79),[1] begins with a few lines of exordium about the feast of the day and then plunges directly into the exemplum. Here we are told all about Constantine,his vision,the commission he gave to his mother to find the Cross,how Helen came by it and the institution of the feast(pp.2-16). This is followed by a very short instruction that is very much like a peroration: it is meet that we honor this feast with church-going! Finally comes the prayer and blessing that we have quoted above(p.79).

We can now see that The Dream of the Rood is modelled on the panegyric type of sermon. After an exordium in which the poet tells us about his theme(lines 1-3) he immediately introduces the exemplum,namely his dream:how the rood looked and what it said(4-77). At this point begins a doctrinal exposition in the words of the Cross. This includes the nobility of the Cross(78-94),an invitation to the dreamer to make the Cross known throughout the world (95-100) and a catechetical instruction based on the Creed (101-121),a very common feature in medieval sermons,[2] to

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[1] R.Morris,op.cit.,pp.2-17.

[2] Thus the Blickling Homily: " . . .Ond we sceolan andettan . . .þone halgan Gast . . .Ond we sceolan gehyhtan on Godes þa gehalgoden cyricean . . .Ond we sceolan gelyfan synna forlætnessa,ond lichoman æristes on domes dæge.Ond we sceolan gelefan on þæt ece lif ond on þæt heofonlice rice . . ."(J.P.Hulbert,op.cit.,p.69).

to which we must probably attach the "displaced"section (148b-156).[1] Then follows the prayer to the Cross by way of peroration(122-144) and the poem ends with the customary blessing:"Be the Lord my friend,who . . ."(144-148a)

The liturgical structure of The Dream is so evident that it is strange how it could have escaped the attention of scholars.

The words and us lif forgeaf,of line 147b, can only refer to the heavenly life,the "vitam aeternam" of the Creed.In view of the appositive heofonlicne ham the poet cannot refer to the life that Christ laid down for us on the Cross.

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[1] See infra,p.87.

hiht wæs geniwad 148

mid bledum and mid blisse, þam þe þær bryne þolodan.

This passage clearly refers to the harrowing of hell. This theme, deriving mostly from the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, intrigued considerably the imagination of the Middle Ages. As for fire (bryne) being one of Limbo's torments, it is difficult to guess where the poet could have obtained his information, since this has never been part of the Church's teaching, and fire is not mentioned in the apocryphal book.[1] The Church does mention a pain being apportioned to those souls in Limbo whom Christ delivered after His death, but this is usually understood to refer to the deprivation of the vision of God (the theological "pain of loss"). Thus, in the liturgy,

> Cum rex ille fortissimus
> Mortis confractis viribus,
> Pede concultans tartara,
> Solvit a poena miseros,[2]

which the Anglo-Saxon copyist glosses

> þonne cing se strengesta
> Deaþes tobrocenu mægenu,
> Mid fet fortredende helle,
> He tolysde racentegan eormingas.[3]

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1 The Gospel of Nicodemus speaks of the "obscurity of darkness" in Limbo (see J.B.Lightfoot, ed., Excluded Books of the New Testament, London, 1927, p.87).

2 Breviarium Monasticum, hymn of Lauds during Paschal time.

3 J.Stevenson(ed.), op.cit., p.84.

The general belief that Christ descended into hell[1] is based on such scriptural passages as "He went and preached to the spirits that were in prison,"[2] and "The Gospel was preached even to the Dead."[3] This belief is theologically developed by St.Epiphanius at the end of fourth century[4] and is celebrated in song throughout the Middle Ages.[5] According to the official teaching of the Church Limbo is a"confinement" or a "prison" because "it confined,even without torments,"[6] the souls of the Just.

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[1] "Hell" is the Anglo-Saxon rendering of Latin "Infernus" which corresponds to Hebrew "Sheol" and means nothing more specific than the other-world.By "descendit ad inferos" --"he descended into hell" -- the Creed indicates that Christ visited not the hell of the damned but the abode of the souls who had departed before His redemption was accomplished.

[2] I Pet. 3:19.

[3] Ibid.,4:6.

[4] "Oratio in Christi Sepultura," P.G.,XLIII, cols.455-464.

[5] Thus Aurelius Prudentius,P.L.,LX,cols.109f.:

Mors illi devicta iacet:calcavit abyssum;
Sanctorum populus superas simul ivit ad oras.

Sedulius,P.L.,XIX,col.751:

Tartara post coelum penetrat:post tartara coelum.

Aldhelm,P.L.,LXXXIX,cols.246f.

Sic tamen optatam senserunt saecla salutem
Dum Deus ad vagas Erebi descenderet auras.

[6] St.Gregory the Great,P.L.,LXXVI,col.489.Cf. also his statement: "Priusquam Redemptor poenam solveret eos . . . inferni claustra tenuerunt:non ut poena quasi peccatores plecteret,sed ut eas . . . ab ingressu regni reatus primae culpae prohiberet" (P.L.,LXXV,col.666).

Se Sunu wæs sigorfæst on þam siðfate,
mihtig and spedig. Þa he mid manigeo com,
gasta weorode on Godes rice,
Anwealda ælmihtig, englum to blisse,
and eallum ðam halgum þam þe on heofonum ær
wunedon on wuldre, þa heorá Wealdend cwom,
ælmihtig God, þær his eðel wæs.

The general idea of Christ's glorious return to heaven surrounded by the hosts of the redeemed and in the presence of the angels is expressed in Pope Leo the Great's sermon on the Ascension which forms part of the monastic office for that day:

> Et revera magna et ineffabilis erat causa gaudendi cum in conspectu sanctae multitudinis, super omnium creaturarum coelestium dignitatem humani generis natura conscenderet.[1]

The expression <u>þær his eðel wæs</u> reflects a common liturgical and homiletic concept. An old hymn of the Benedictine breviary, now no longer in use, for Ascension-day runs:

> Ascendens in altum Deus
> Propriam ad sedem remeat:
> Gavisa sunt coeli regna
> Reditu Unigeniti.[2]

Having performed His redemptive task, Christ returns where He belongs, where in fact, as God, He has ever been: His own

[1] <u>P.L.</u>, LIV, col. 396. Monastic <u>Breviarium</u>, third lesson of second nocturn.

[2] J. Stevenson, <u>op.cit.</u>, p.89.

country.Of Christ ascending into heaven Gregory the Great says in a homily on the Ascension,also found in the Benedictine breviary:

> Ille enim revertebatur ubi erat . . . quia cum per humanitatem ascendebat in coelum,per divinitatem suam et terram continebat et coelum.[1]

Dickins and Ross place a period after mihtig and spedig of line 151,thus making this sentence part of the harrowing of hell. But if we do so the remaining lines, up to the end of the poem,appear deprived of grammatical subject and defy grammatical analysis. Cook places only a comma after spedig, and refers lines 150-151a to Christ's Ascension. The association of the harrowing of hell,of lines 148b-149,with the Ascension strikes us as incongruous but is found in its source,the apocryphal Gospel,and is repeated in the Christus. To it the poet may have also been led by this liturgical hymn:

> Inferni claustra penetrans,
> Tuos captivos redimens
> Victor triumpho nobili
> Ad dexteram Patris residens. . .[2]

which also contains this association of ideas and covers adequately the poet's concept. But in the Latin hymn this association is due to the fact that the hymnist is enumerating Christ's exploits without intending to give us a

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[1] P.L.,LXXVI,col.1216.Breviarium Monasticum,lesson 2,first nocturn,feria secunda infra Octavam Ascensionis.

[2] Breviarium Monasticum,hymn at Lauds,Ascension-day.

a strictly chronological sequence of events.

As has already been suggested,this whole section seems out of place here not only because of the abruptness with which the poem is made to terminate,but chiefly because the poet has already exhausted the enumeration of events from Christ's death right up to the Ascension in lines 95-103. He has brought in even the Last Judgment (103b f.). This has been followed by a peroration.There is,therefore,every reason to believe that the earnest prayer that follows and the customary valedictory blessing ending with line 148a was originally the end of the poem. It is in fact difficult to see how the poet who up to now has given us every indication of being able to put order into his thoughts and to construct his poem on a logical and balanced framework,can now become so hopelessly confused that he begins to discant again on the Ascension which he has already treated,and on the harrowing of hell which logically should have been treated even before that. Since the rest of this section of The Dream is modelled on the Creed,it is reasonable to assume that the harrowing of hell,too,should be placed in the place it holds in the Creed,namely after the death and before the resurrection of Christ,in the poem after line 101a.

APPENDIX

THE MAIN LITURGICAL SOURCES

USED IN THIS WORK

The Gelasian Sacramentary

Although attributed to Pope Gelasius(492-496), this sacramentary undoubtedly contains elements gathered from periods both earlier and later than Gelasius' . Scholars believe that in spite of its title this liturgical collection was put together from older manuals in France in the seventh century and that it contains,besides the Roman original,borrowings from later sacramentaries. One evidence to justify this belief is that we find in it prayers for the Frankish kings and empire. Hence great circumspection is to be used in assigning the date of composition of its various material.In general it may be said that this sacramentary was in use in France in the eighth century before Pope Hadrian sent thither the Gregorian Sacramentary.

In its present form the Gelasian Sacramentary is

derived from the Patavian MS. which on palaeographical grounds is assigned to the year 990 or thereabouts.[1] To determine a more accurate date of composition it may help us to note that in the Creed the word Filioque("who with the Father and the Son") is missing. Now it is known that this addition was made in France in the seventh century (in Rome it was made in the ninth). Again,some Lenten masses which Gregory II authorized in early-eighth century are not found in this sacramentary,nor are,in fact,some feasts instituted in the seventh,as for instance All Saints' Day.

The Gregorian Sacramentary.

This liturgical manual is known to have been introduced into France by Hadrian I (784-791),who probably had it edited from previous sacramentaries,at the request of Charlemagne when the latter decided to replace the Gallican with the Roman liturgy in his domains.[2] Since,however,the original Gregorian sacramentary used in Rome since the days of Gregory I(+ 604) contained only the liturgical prayers of those days on which the Pope officiated in churches other than St.Peter's,the manual was found inadequate and

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[1] "Illius character nongentis annis non videtur inferius:est enim scriptus litteris. . .quas unciales aliqui vocant"(Editor's Preface in P.L.,LXXIV,col.1050).

[2] M.S.de Vito,L'Origine del Dramma Liturgico, (Firenze,1938),pp.26-31.

supplemented with borrowings from the Gelasian sacramentary. It should be noted that even the original Gregorian manual contained many elements belonging to earlier times.

The Migne edition of this sacramentary(P.L.,LXXVIII) was prepared by Dom H.Manard in 1638 chiefly from a very ancient ("pervetusto")[1] Rheims MS. of the eighth or tenth century.The editor utilized also older manuscripts as well as the Ordines Romani of the ninth and tenth centuries.Other editions of this sacramentary are by Pamelius,in the sixteenth century,from a ninth-century MS.;by L.M.Muratori,in 1748,and by H.A.Wilson in 1915 (H.B.S.,vol.49),the last two being also based on ninth-century codices.

The Gregorian Antiphonary.

Here too is a collection of liturgical passages made by Gregory I from earlier sources to which he added copiously.The reason for attributing it to this Pope is that a medieval chronicler,Johannes Diaconus,"writing some three hundred years after Gregory. . .attributes the work to him and says that the original was then in the Lateran library."[2]The Migne edition was made from a ninth-century manuscript.

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[1] D.H.Manard,Preface to "Liber Sacramentorum Beati Gregorii Papae," P.L.,LXXVIII,pp.xv-xxii.

[2] P.Gussaville,Preface to "Liber Antiphonarius Beati Gregorii Papae," P.L.,LXXVIII,col.640.

The Gregorian Responsory.

This manual was edited by Migne (P.L.,LXXVII,cols. 725-850) from a French MS.,the Codex Compendiensis,of the end of the ninth century. This codex must have been a Benedictine manual in use in some monastery because many of its entries refer to saints of the Order.

The Pontifical of Egbert.

Egbert was brother to Eadbert,King of Northumbria. A monk at Hexham,he was ordained in Rome and consecrated bishop of York in 732. "The original pontifical must have been two hundred years older than the present MS. It may seem probable that a copy of the original was taken to France by Alcuin . . . and that the present MS. may be a copy of such transcript."[1]

The tenth-century MS. on which this edition,the very first to be made,is based,is preserved in the Imperial Library,Paris.

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[1] W.Greenwell,Preface to op.cit.,p.xviii.

Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

This edition by J.Stevenson is based on an eleventh century MS. now in the library of the Chapter of Durham. The MS. contains an interesting interlinear gloss consisting in the vernacular term being written over the corresponding Latin with a complete disregard for the native syntax.From the linguistic characteristics of the interlinear gloss,which is unmistakably Anglo-Saxon,it is clear that the MS. has a South-England origin.

The Durham MS. has been augmented in this edition with material from two more codices: a) the Cottonian (Junius A,VI),also of the eleventh century but somewhat earlier than the Durham MS. Here the Latin text is identical but the gloss totally different; b) the Cottonian (Vespasian D,XII),probably of the tenth century,containing the Latin text,a Latin prose paraphrase of it and an Anglo-Saxon translation of the paraphrase.

From an examination of the contents of these MSS. it is possible to conclude that these hymns have been gleaned from contemporary liturgical manuals,especially the Benedictine breviary.Most of the hymns of St.Ambrose,Prudentius,Gregory I and Fortunatus are there.Many of the others went out of use when the simplification of the liturgy was decreed by the Council of Trent,while many others still remain in liturgical use.

The Lanalet Pontifical.

This liturgical manual was edited by G.H.Doble from a tenth-century MS. now in the public library of Rouen. The MS. must have been in use in a Benedictine monastery for one entry reads "A Blessing of an Abbot," and another "A Blessing of Monks." Also,scribbled on a margin (fol.iij.),is the information "ex monast.Gemmit.S.Mauri." On fol.196 we are told that Lyuinc b (bishop) ah þas boc. It is known that Lyfing,a monk of Winchester,became bishop in 1043. Scholars believe that the MS.was written in England because of its preference for English saints(Birinus and Cuthbert,among others) and that somehow it was taken to the Abbey of Jumièges,in France,whence on the suppression of monasteries during the French Revolution it was carried to the public library of nearby Rouen.

St.Wulstan's Portiforium.

This is an interesting liturgical document.Portiforium is Latinized Italian for an outdoor article and the word here means a book that one can carry about when travelling:in fact a vademecum. As we would expect,the parts of the breviary that Wulstan would know from memory (psalms,antiphons and responsories) are found in it in abbreviated form,while the variable parts,especially the

Oremus's,are given in extenso. It is probable that Wulstan used this manual also in his choir at the Worcester Cathedral where as an abbot he would have to read aloud only the Oremus's,reciting the rest of the breviary cum toto grege.

The date of the Portiforium is determined by the calendar-table which,in common with liturgical books, appears at the beginning,listing the movable feasts for the various years. These years range from 1064 to 1093. Recent research has narrowed the period to 1064-1070.

The Leofric Collectar.

This is one of the few non-Benedictine liturgical manuals,similar in purpose and content to Wulstan's Portiforium.Its greatest value lies in the possibility it gives us to compare the two. It has been edited in two volumes for the H.B.S.(vols.45 and 56,by E.S.Dewick and W.H.Frere, respectively). The MS. dates back to the eleventh century so that it is contemporary with the Portiforium.

Leofric was a secular priest.French by nationality, he was one of the Continental priests brought over by Edward the Confessor a few years before the Norman invasion. He was eventually made bishop of Exeter.

Scholars have observed a great similarity between this MS. and the Liege Breviary of 1497,which of course is

a reproduction of earlier manuals. Collectar comes from Collect, which means the Oremus of the day, and contains all the collects which the liturgy prescribes throughout the year. As in the case of Wulstan's Portiforium, apart from the collects all other parts of the breviary and missal are given in abbreviated form.

One important feature of the Leofric Collectar is that liturgical hymns already appear in it as an integral part of the secular office.This seems to dispose of the view expressed by Dom Boudot that

> The absence of hymns from the Roman secular office should be noted.The monks said the hymns prescribed by the Benedictine Rule in their own churches but omitted them in the office of the Basilicas. . . In the thirteenth century the Roman breviary of the Curia finally adopted the hymnal.[1]

The Leofric Missal.

This is an invaluable MS.being one of the only three extant missals known to have been in use in England in Anglo-Saxon times.[2] The Missal is said to have been in use in the Cathedral of Exeter during Leofric's time (1050-1072).The work was edited by F.E.Warren in 1883.

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[1] Dom Jules Boudot, op.cit., p.32.

[2] The other two are The Missal of Robert of Jumièges(1000-1050) and The Rede Boke of Darbye(1050-1100) now in the Corpus Christi Library,at Cambridge.

The Missal of Robert of Jumièges.

This Missal, edited by H.A.Wilson for the H.B.S. (vol.11,1896) is, like the Leofric Missal, one of three surviving from Anglo-Saxon times.

Robert had been a Benedictine monk at Jumièges, in France, whence he was called by Edward the Confessor to become Archbishop of London(1044) and later of Canterbury (1051). In 1052 he was exiled from England on the return of earls Godwin and Harold from banishment for which the archbishop had been held responsible. Robert went to Rome to appeal to the Pope who seems to have ordered his reinstatement, but on his way back he died at his old abbey of Jumièges. This missal which he had carried with him to Rome remained at Jumièges till 1791 when, on the suppression of the monasteries ordered by the Revolution authorities it was, like the Pontificale Lanaletense, taken to the Rouen Public Library where it is now preserved.

The table of movable feasts appearing at the beginning of the MS. commences with the year 1000; hence scholats have placed it "dans le premier quart du 11e siècle."[1] This is an illuminated MS. with full-page paintings of superb workmanship. For one, the Deposition from the Cross, see Plate 6.

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[1] Abbé Loisel, "Un Missel et un Bénédictionnaire Anglo-Saxons de la Bibliothèque de Rouen," Les Amis des Monuments Rouennais, 1910, pp.122f.

The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey.

This must be one of the very earliest complete breviaries to appear. In the Middle Ages the choral prayers of the monks were not codified into one single volume but involved a little library: psalter, antiphonary, responsory, lectionary, evangeliary, to mention only a few. Various monks were appointed to lead the choir in the various parts of the office and each would use the book that contained *in extenso* only his part, other parts being given, as in an actor's copy, only in an abbreviated or incipient form. This method worked well in a Benedictine monastery where the choral recitation of the breviary was a basic feature of daily life. But when in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries other religious Orders appeared whose chief work was not choir-psaltery but parochial or mission work, their breviaries had to be comprehensive. They had to be practical too. Hence to avoid unwieldy size and weight they were divided into four volumes to correspond to the four seasons of the year. This arrangement was adopted even by the Benedictines, and in the *Hyde Abbey Breviary* we have one of the earliest examples.

The *Hyde Abbey Breviary* has been edited in five volumes by J.B.L. Tolhurst for the *H.B.S.* The editor is of opinion that the MS. dates back to 1092-1304 (*op.cit.*, I, p.xi).

APPENDIX II

FACSIMILE OF THE VERCELLI TEXT

rume. rede þiʒ nebrd fnottor reapo cpiſtes ſaple
ꝑeadſt uton to þam beſtan nuþe cunnon hycgan ſhyhtan
þæt þe heofones leohte uppe mid englum agan moton
ʒaſtum to ʒeoce ponne ʒod pile eopdan lifes bide ʒe
pyrcan::

Hpæt ic ſpſtna cyst ſecʒan pylle hæt mæge mætte
to midre nihte syðþan reorid bſtnd reſte punedon.
ſuhte me ſæt ic ʒe pæpe ſyllicre tpeop onlyfte
læʒan leohte be pundū beama beophtoſt eall þæt
beacen pæs be ʒoten mid ʒolde ʒimmas ſtodon pæſre
æt poldan ſceatum. ſpylce þæs ſiſe þæron uppe
onþam eaxle ʒe ſpanne be healdon þæs engel dyhtig
neſ ealle pæſre þiſſa poſid ʒe sceapt nefes. dæs huru
ſpacoſes ʒealga. Achine þæs be healdon halize ʒaſtas
mſn offa moldan ʒeall þeos mære ʒe sceapt::
Syllic þæs ze ſize beam ylc ſymū fah for punded
mid ſommū ʒe seah ic ſuldſes tpeop. pædum ze þeos
ðode ſymū seman ze ʒyred mid ʒolde ʒimmas hæfdon
be ſuſtre ſeondlice ſealdes tpeop:: Hpæðre ic
ſuſh þæt ʒold onʒytan mehte ſaſumſa cpiſenra
þæt hit eprest ongan ſpæran on þa ſyſtran healfe
eallic þæs mid ſuſtum ʒedſtes. [illegible] ſepes for
þære fæʒran ze ſylde ze reah ic [illegible] ſuſe beacn.

Facsimile of The Dream of the Rood(Lines 1-21)

XV

105.

þrdan þædum ȝblœom hpilum hit þæȝ mid þæcan be fríwed. beſpyled
mid ſpatȝ ȝange. hyrlum mid ſince ȝeȝypped. Hyræðre ic þæȝ
begnde lange hpile. beheold hpæþ cëapiz. hæſtlicoſt tpæþ.
oddæt ic ongehyrde þæt hit hleoðrode ongan þæt pyrd ſprecan
pudu pëlesta þæt þæȝ ȝepiȝa nu. ic þæt ȝyta ȝe ȝman. þæt ic pæȝ
aheapfn holtiȝ ontinde afyrred of ſtefne minū. ȝemaman
meðgi feriange þrondaȝ ȝe ſophtron. him þæȝ to þæpþi ſyne
hiton me hebban þrizaȝ hebban. hæfon me ðeȝi beȝnuȝ
on eorðan. oddæt hit me onbeȝiz upriccan ȝeþæht noðon me
þæȝ þrondaȝ ȝenoȝe. ȝe þeah ic ða þriȝan man cynnes ecſtan
elne mycle. þæt he me polde ongē þrizan. þæȝ ic ða ne dorſte
ofer dryhtnes pord bugan oðer bifian. þa ic hyrde ȝeſeah
hpæðre ſceatar pulle ic mihte þrondaȝ ge fyllan hpæðre
ic þæſte ſtod. Ongyrede hine þa ſeong hæleð þæt þæȝ god
ælmihtiȝ ſeriang. ſtiþ mod. ȝe ſtah he on ſtaiȝan heanne
modiȝ on maniȝra ȝe ſyhðe. þa he polde man cyn lyſan.
bifode ic ða mē þe bro ymb elpete. ne dorſte ic hpæðre
bugan to hpæðre pullan to poldan ſceatū. ac ic ſcolde þæſte
ſtandan. Rod þæȝ ic arāhted. ahof ic ſpiðe cyning hefona
hlaford. hyldan me ne dorſte. ſynfi dpiſan hine mid
dreorigan nalū. on me pundon þa dolȝ ge punde opfne hpæð
hilderaȝ. ne dorſte ic hpæðre nanȝū peardan byrnende hine
une burū ateȝadre. eall ic þæȝ mid blode beſtemed. begoten of
þæȝ guman þidan. þidan he hafde his ȝaſt onſended. þrāla
ic ofdam mæniȝe gebidan hæbbe þrāðra ſpiða. ge þeah ic þāne
ȝod þēoden hēman þyrfte hafden he þriȝin mid polcnum
preadnesse hpæþ. ſerine ſeoman ſcēadu þord ūðe. þam
undēn polcnum þrēp eallē þeſaſt. eþðon cyninȝ fyll
cpiſt þæȝ onriode hpæðre þæt fuſe þeoddan eþoman to
þam æðelinge. ic þæt eall be heold. Sape ic þæȝ mid ȝedrifed
hnaȝ ic hpæðre þam feccū to handa. eād mod elne mycle
ge namon hine þæt ælmihtiȝne god ahofon hine of ðam

Facsimile of The Dream of the Rood(lines 22-61)

105 v

hæfdan fyre forlæton me þa hilde rinca[ð] scandan sceame
be dryhtne sceal re þær mid scyldum þry þundod. dydon hie
deah him þeningne ge-frodon hwæt ær hyra hleo[ð]or hæfdū be heoldon hie
deah heofenes dryhten þæs hine deah hwile wurde medo æfter
dam miclan gesynne. Ongunnon him þa moldenn wyrcan
beorgas onbanan gesyldē carfon hie deat orbyrhtan scane
gesæton hie deah on sigore sealdū ongunnon him þa forh
leo[ð] galan ofer[ð]ryme ofsa æfter tide þa hie poldon eft wendan
medo fram þam mæran þeodne wæron wræce he deah mæte þreyode
hwædere þeodcyninga gode hwile. stodon on stadole sydðan
up ge þat hilde rinca. hwæ[ð] colode fæger fæðm bold þa[ð]
man fyllan ongan. sealle to eorðan þæt þæt æðelic wyrd
be dealf ut man ondeorpan cwæðe hwædre me þæs dryhtnes
segnas gesundan gesyngodon gyldon me golde gewurðode.
Nu ðu miht ge hyran hæleð min se leofa þæt ic bealuwara
wære ge-bidan hebbe sarlra worga ær nu wel cumeð þæt me
wyrsiað wide gyrde micle ofer moldan sceal weorc mæne
ge-sceapt. ge biddaþ hine torhtlic beacne onmedlan beames
gesweotol gebicnad hwile worhte ælmihtig god ofer eall gesceaft
heofenhlm. gehealan mæg. æghwylene anra þara þe him bid
egesa to me ne recæð ge worhte hie halgum dogor. hebbum la
dost oðran eahm lange þæs sylfne gesyrwad weorod be
sundū hwæt me þa gebeotedon sealdon ofer holm
sæden heoron swæð gesæld. swylce swa he hy modon wæs
mannan gewæs ælmihtig god. dom calle minum gesceadenne
ofer eall gesceapa cynn. Nu scealt hæle[ð] min seleofa.
þæt du dæt ge-sylle gæste mannū onwreon worda þæt hit se
sealdlic beam wæs ælmihtig god onwreah. for man
cynnes manegū gyltū. gadoleg ealdge-wyrhtū dead he
þær byrgde hwædere eft dryhten arase mid his miclan
mihte mannū to helpe heda on heofenas æfter. hwæ[ð]
eft sceal on gewyrne middan geard man cynn gesecan on

106 r

dom dæge dryhtün rylfa ælmihtig god þinr sylfes mid. þæche
ponne pile dðman se ah domes gepeald angla gehpylcü sþa he
him ælpar hafi onspeþum lahum life gestrangad. ne mæg þær
ænig unpohtt þingan. porhsan porde. þe se þeoda cyð. þu
meaht he porhsapie mænige hpæt se man prie þeoda porhdyhtt
neh naman deades þæs orcneas onbyrigan sþa he ær on
dam bame dyde. ælche ponne porhtnad. gesi þincas hpæt his
cunde cpidan onginnan. Nesþingr dæi ponne ænig unpohtt
þingan þe him ær inhydgendü bifiad bealena gelæst. Aeduph
da gode scead puce gestream of wolcnü þeos ælpyle sapl reðde
mid þealdhde punian þicced. se bad se ime sa toþan beame
blide mode elne micle þæt he ana þær mehte þinsade þær
mod gepa apyped onporht þeos þeoda ealgia se bad langung
hpile hpæðre he me nu lifes hyhte þæt he done deag beam gedon mehte
ana ofer ponne ealle men well gewyrcan me is pilla to dam
micel on mode. þæm manna hyhd is gehyht to þæs he gode.
Nah ic þy sæla þeala gefrunda onpoldan ælche dæges heonon
gewiton ær worulde dreamum wlitan wuldres cyning
hpæt nu onhwearfedü mid heah gesiþe punad on uldre gretene
me dugu se hyle hpædre me dryhtenes god þe ic hær ofer
dan ær gestode onfyngon þonan life to gewege ymbe þon gebyncð
þæt is blis micel dreama on heofonü þær is dryhtnes pole se
me ær bestod to ymbe þæt is gingal blis. ymbe þon ænegum þæt ic
gyfan mot punian on uldre well mid þam halgü dreame
bruean inne dryhten freond gode hafi on eorþan ær þinsade
on sum stowe ofer eorþan gumum gemünd he us oft onlyhte gæst
for gæst heofonlicne ham lihte þæm þe mid blisse mid bledü gemæðlige
wære þær he wynne wolde an. gefremu þæt gingra gæst onwæcned
dæte mihte gefaran. þa hie mid manigeo com gasta gewunode
on gode dryhten englas ælmihtig engü to blisse. gesallü dam
halgü þampe on heofonü ær punedon on uldre þa he of
gewald crom ælmihtig god þær his wæl wæg :-

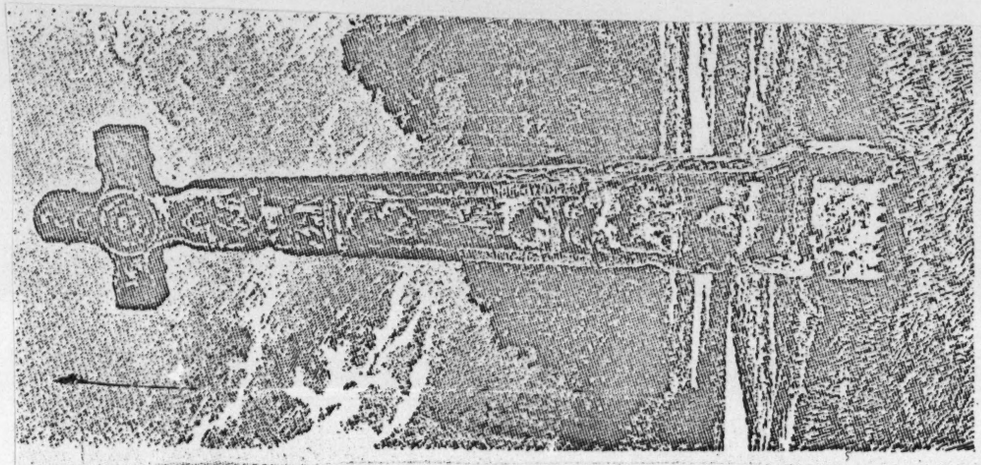
Facsimile of The Dream of the Rood (lines 105-156)

APPENDIX III

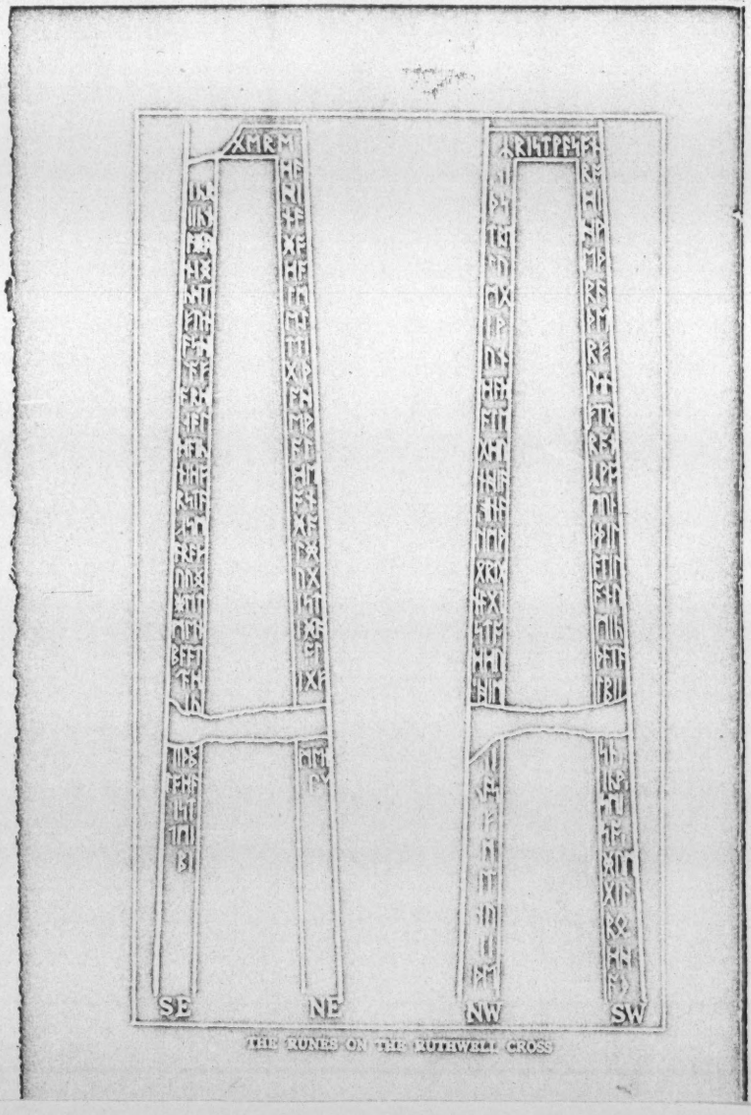
LIST OF PLATES

I am grateful to The Reverend C. E. Pocknee, for his permission to use photographs contained in this appendix from pages 20, 21, 30, 31, 51 and 73 of Cross and Crucifix published by A. R. Mowbray and Co. Ltd., London and Oxford.

PLATE I

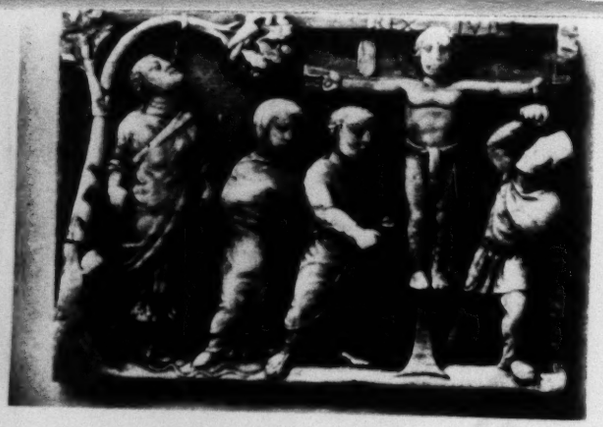


Ruthwell Cross.



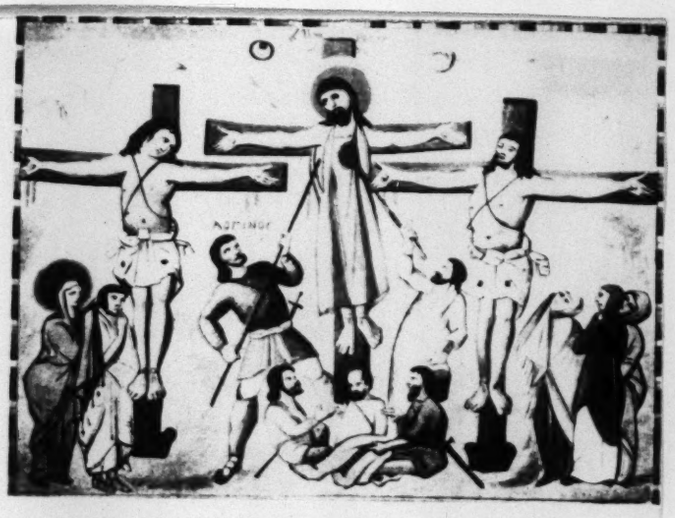
THE RUNES ON THE RUTHWELL CROSS

PLATE II



THE EARLIEST DEPICTIONS OF THE CRUCIFIXION (b)

The first factual portrayal of the Crucifixion, about A.D. 420, upon an ivory casket, now in the British Museum. The artist was concerned for detail. On the left Judas hangs from a tree at the foot of which is a bag with coins.



THE RABULA CRUCIFIXION

A miniature in the Syriac Gospel written by the monk Rabula in the monastery of St. John in Zagby, Mesopotamia, *circa* 586, and now in the [Medici] Laurentian Library, Florence.

This miniature is of importance as forming the exemplar from which a number of other depictions of the Crucifixion were made. The body of Christ is vested in the colobium. The feet are nailed above the ankles and there is no *suppedaneum*. The head of Christ and that of the B.V. Mary are surrounded by a nimbus. In the background are Mount Gareb and Mount Agra, with which the artist was familiar.

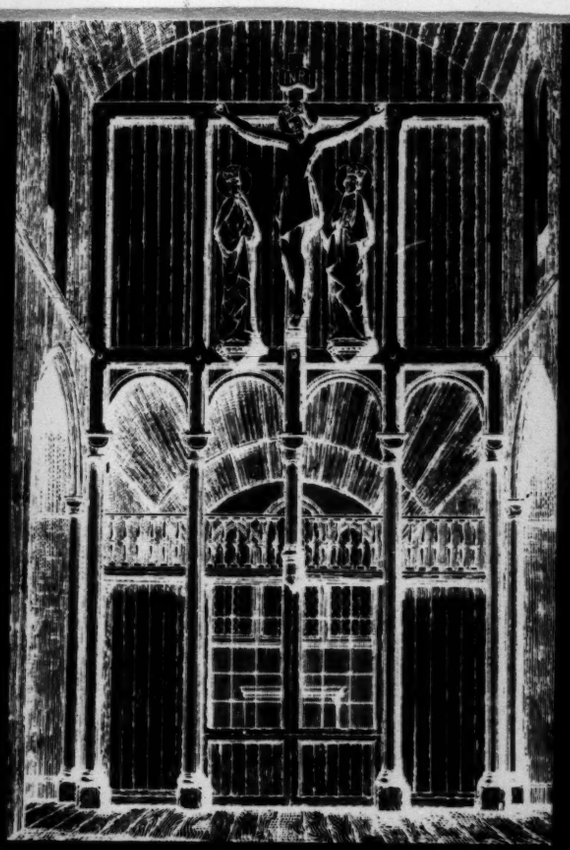
The bearded face of Christ, which appears here, is of oriental origin; and it gradually replaced the iconographic style of the beardless Christ which had appeared in earlier centuries.

PLATE III

PLATE IV

A Votive Cross

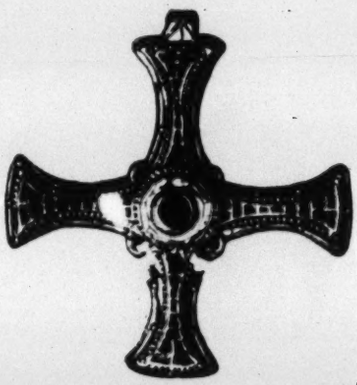
Made in the ninth century, of Carolingian-Lombardic origin. Cloisonné enamels with cabochon pastes on gilt copper. The ring under the cross was intended for votive offerings to be suspended over or near the altar.



A Norwegian Rood Screen

This interesting example forms part of the early twelfth-century wooden or 'Stave' Church at Urnes. It will be noted that the figures of the B.V. Mary and of St. John are crowned as well as that of the Crucified.

PLATE V

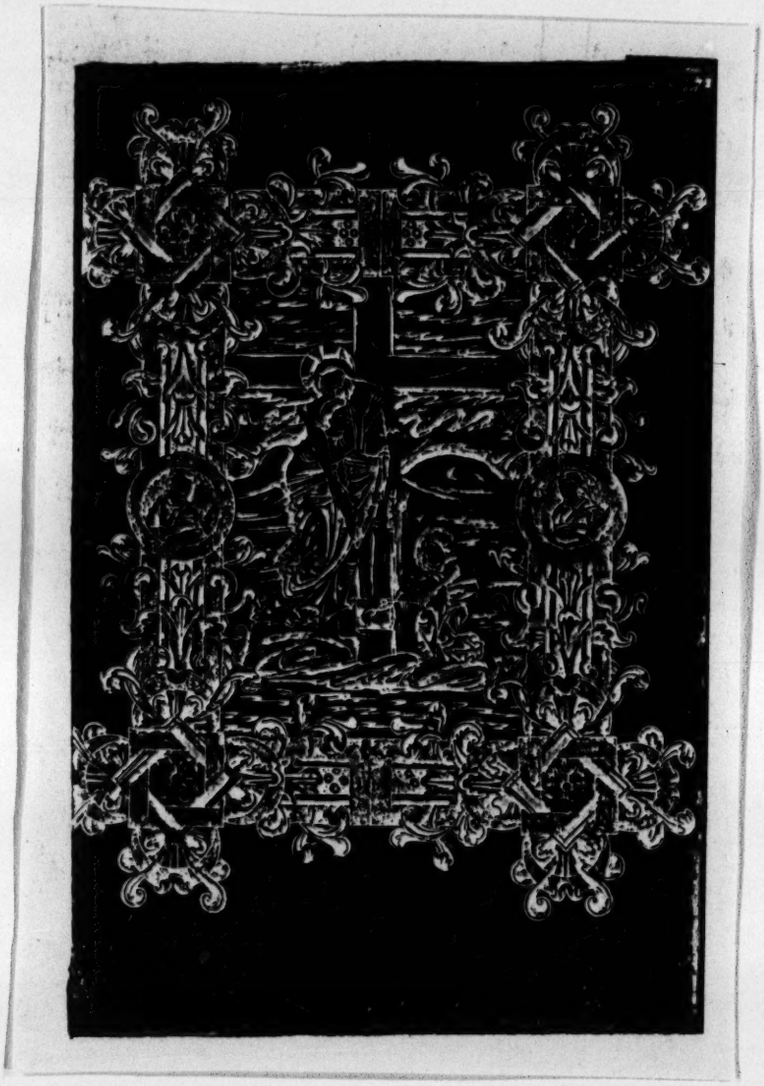


THE PECTORAL CROSS OF ST. CUTHBERT

This cross was discovered with St. Cuthbert's body when his coffin was opened in 1827. There can be little doubt that it belonged to him, and was worn during his lifetime. It was in no sense an ensign of episcopal office, but rather was an emblem of personal devotion.

It is of seventh-century Anglo-Saxon workmanship, made of gold with cloisonné sections, and a central boss made from a garnet, which covered the cavity containing a relic. The cross as seen here is after its cleaning and repair by the experts at the British Museum. It is now kept in the Chapter library of Durham Cathedral with the other relics of St. Cuthbert.

PLATE VI



THE DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS

(From The Missal of Robert of Jumièges. See p.96)

TABLE VII

THE LUCCA CRUCIFIX

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